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Dublin

In Memory of
STEPHEN SPAULDING
1907 – 1925
CLASS of 1927
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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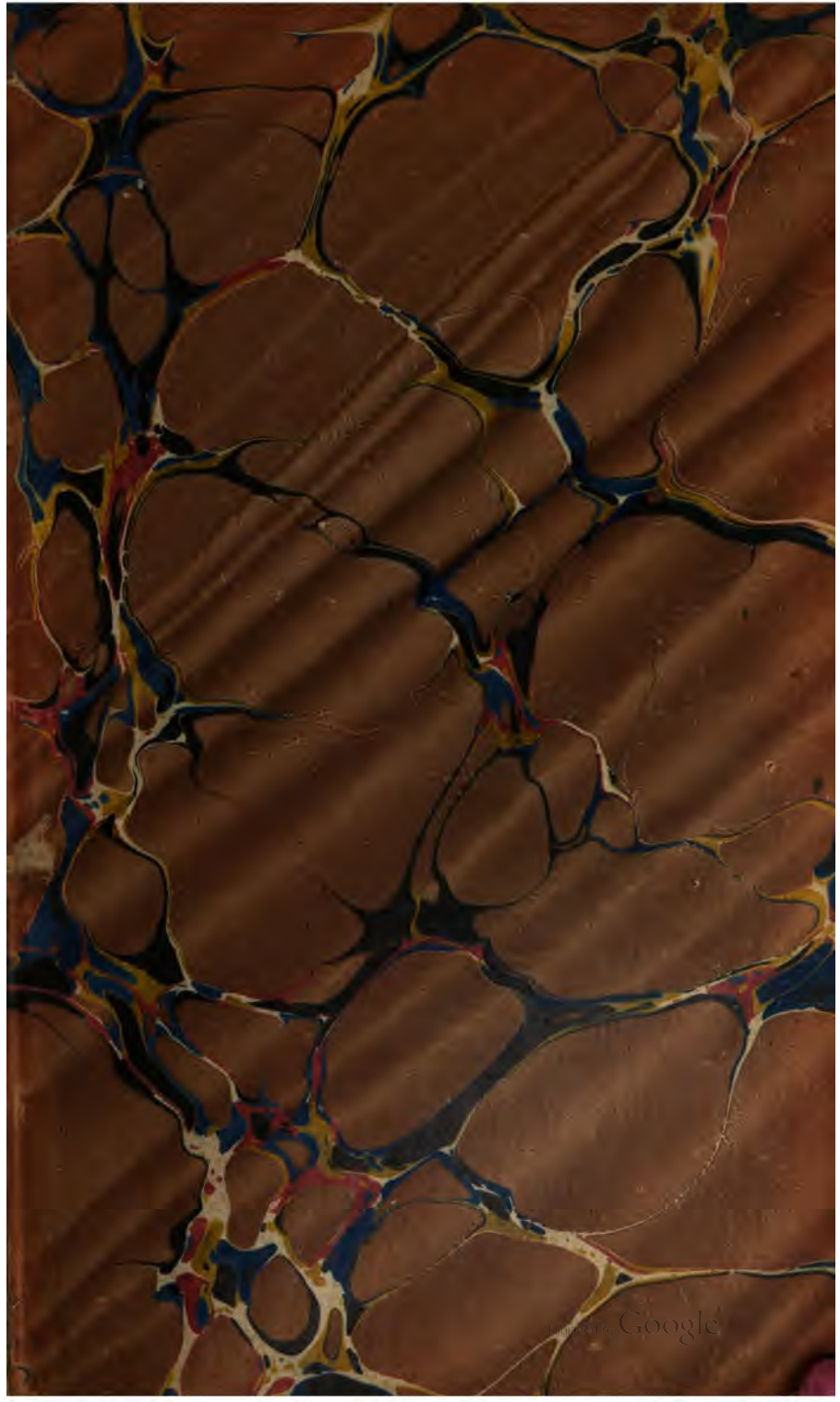
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AN

ARGUMENT

FOR

INDEPENDENCE,

IN

OPPOSITION

TO AN

UNION.

ADDRESSED

TO ALL HIS COUNTRYMEN,

BY AN IRISH CATHOLIC.

Now I ask you, what it is that has given you every thing? Is it not time? And as time has given you every thing, reflect that time may alſo take every thing away from you; but time is not neceſſary—negotiation alone is ſufficient to undo you.

When have you demanded, that you have not ſucceeded? and when have you negotiated, that you have not been deceived?—FLOOD.

—DUBLIN:—

PRINTED BY J. STOCKDALE, 62, ABBEY-STREET, NEAR CARLISLE BRIDGE.

1799.

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This Pamphlet is written with great ability.
It seems however strongly of Seperation &
Republicanism

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Stephen Spaulding Mem. Coll.
Quarterly
3-26-40

AN

ARGUMENT

FOR

INDEPENDENCE,

IN

OPPOSITION

TO AN

UNION, &c.

THERE is now no affectation of denying, that the projected Union between Ireland and Great Britain, will be submitted in the next session to the consideration of Parliament; nor does any person who considers the constitution of that assembly, in the least doubt, what will be the decision of the question. But while it is not yet treason to discuss the subject, an Irishman may indulge the melancholy satisfaction of sympathizing with his countrymen upon the impending calamity.

It is at least pardonable to be mistrustful of an event, avowedly brought forward to effect such a momentous and permanent change; and natural to look back to the effects of that Legislative subjection, so like an Union, which already subsisted between these islands until 1782; the removal of which distressful conditi-

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on, conſtitutes the brighteſt page in Iriſh hiſtory, and as yet, the moſt diſtinguiſhed exertion of Iriſh wiſdom and ſpirit.

While England could legiſlate for Ireland, and actually exerciſed this power in all matters of imperial concern, they were nearly as much united, as could be effected by the endeavours of man, to join two countries for which the hand of Nature had traced a ſeparate exiſtence. And what was then the ſtate of Ireland? Low in agriculture and commerce; with but one manufacture, ſcarcely adequate to provide remittances to abſentees; beggary in the ſtreets, and idleneſs in the workſhops; the rents of lands ſcarcely half their preſent amount; little room for the production of capital, and as little opportunity for its employment, if acquired. It was a ſtate of intolerable poverty, which, with an effort of deſperate energy, and in a fortunate conjuncture, ſtimulated the nation to wreſt from the all-griping and tenacious monopoly of England, a free trade; a ſtate of humiliation, as well as wretchedneſs, which the Volunteers in their day, were ready to run the riſk of war and ſeparation, to remove.

But whence do we date the dawning proſperity of our country, unleſs from the leſſening of that very connection, which we hear is to be increaſed; and giving, as much as is conſiſtent with our preſent relation with Great Britain, the management of Iriſh affairs, excluſively to the Iriſh Legiſlature?

Much as we have to complain of the Iriſh Parliament, corrupt as it is repreſented to be in a late publication of authority, and viciouſly as it is compoſed, by ſitting within the vortex of Iriſh feelings and reſolves, it has occaſionally been carried along by the virtue of the people, and made to give a legal utterance and form to their will.

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will. This casual advantage renders jealous the enemies of our growing prosperity; and what has long been desired, the moment of our cruel dissensions is seized upon, to accomplish the transportation of the whole Irish Legislature, beyond the reach of any extraneous accidental impulse of Patriotism, to merge and lose itself in that of Britain.

The nature of our former subjection to the Parliament of England, with all its manifold evils, was safer and better than this incorporating Union. Better, because with a common Legislature to superintend the general concerns, we had then, what no Union will leave us, an interior assembly immediately connected with this country, to watch over its domestic affairs. Even during the supremacy of its rival, it still possessed inherent powers, which might be exercised in favour of the country; which were in fact sometimes exerted for its good, and at all times put it in the power of the Irish people themselves, to remove without convulsion or war, any evil they did not think proper to submit to. It was, more than any foreign Parliament can be, under the eyes of the Irish public, more within the sphere of its opinions, and more likely to be impelled by its movements. During its glorious struggles at the close of the American war, how considerably have we not seen its patriotism roused and invigorated, by the unanimity of the people at large, and the noble ardour of the Volunteers! These causes would have operated more feebly, or not at all, upon a compound Parliament residing in Britain; and if we consider the opposition a free trade received from that quarter, and the enthusiasm with which it was sought for here, who is there that must not confess it would, with such a Parliament, have been either not obtained, or obtained only by the sword? Let me suppose any other question, which shall again marshal the passions and interests of both

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nations, if carried in the Legiſlature of the Empire, as it has been quaintly denominated, the Engliſh will be apt to ſee no better uſe of their army, than to inforce and ſupport their dominion. If therefore the Iriſh ſhould be again firm and peremptory, as they were on the queſtion of free trade, they muſt compute the chances of the field, when their ſneaking petitions ſhall have failed; or if not, ſlink back into ſilence and ſubmiſſion. They will conſequently, under an Union, be leſs ſafely circumſtanced than they are without one.

The Iriſh members aſſociated to the Britiſh Parliament, in the improbable ſuppoſition, that none could be bought over to a dereliction of Iriſh intereſts, can by no means be an equivalent for a domeſtic Parliament with a diſtinct will and co-ordinate powers; more capable on that account to give protection againſt future injuries, and to redreſs exiſting ones, in the ſame way as was done in 82 by the Iriſh Parliament, which, impelled by public opinion, acted as no Parliament reſiding abroad can be ever neceſſitated to act.

In point of protection to Ireland, I conſider the admiſſion of Iriſh members into the Britiſh Senate, as of no avail. They will be a very ſmall minority in that aſſembly, and wherever the intereſts of the two nations claſh, caſes in which the Iriſh members will be peculiarly called upon to act as an Iriſh body, they will be moſt of all without weight or influence; they will naturally be oppoſed by the prejudices, paſſions, and intereſts of the Engliſh majority, actuated againſt them by all theſe powerful motives. Their admiſſion will be uſed as a cloak to hide the ſhame and infamy of their country's ſubjugation, but it will be utterly incapable to ſecure good, or prevent the enaction of bad laws. In both theſe reſpects we ſhall be at the mercy of England.

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The pretence of equal advantages is held out; but it is more than will ever be realized, becauſe it would be contrary to the intereſts of Britain; and more than ſhould be looked for from a treaty where one of the contracting parties has a great ſuperiority of power, and a weighty controuling influence over the other. It will be a bargain, to which there will be but one party; which, as it cannot be liſtened to, without a beginning dereliction of Iriſh intereſts, ſo it cannot be concluded without their utter abandonment. It can never be adviſable for a riſing country, to link itſelf to one that has reached its acmé; the former requires nothing for the completion of its proſperity, but to be left to itſelf; the latter may, and does in the inſtance of England, require an aſſociate to eaſe her of the overwhelming burthens brought on by her wars and her extravagance, to give ſecurity to her debts, and to divide her taxes. Has England ever done us a voluntary or gratuitous favour? and if not, which ſhall we attribute this meaſure of an Union, to a regard for us, or for herſelf? If ſhe has not dared to propoſe, though ſhe has betrayed the deſire of propoſing this meaſure, during the exiſtence of national harmony, and conſequent vigour, but brings it now forward, when civil ſtriſe and fatal animoſities have ſet thoſe in hoſtile oppoſition, who ſhould be united for their common freedom; when ſhe expects that one deſpicable ſet of monopoliſts, increaſing in rancour in proportion to their crimes, will give up Ireland, rather than ſhare it in equal liberty with their countrymen; and when ſhe expects, falſely I hope expects, that the maſs of Iriſh population, will conſent to the ruin, in order to be revenged of its adverſaries; does ſhe not, by ſuch conduct, diſcloſe her own judgment of the ſcheme, and purſue the policy of all ambitious and unprincipled powers, who take advantage of the diſſenſions of their neighbours, to promote their own ſelfiſh ends of aggrandizement?

If

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If even now, in a leſs dependent condition than we ſhould be in after an Union, the complaiſance of our repreſentatives for the will and intereſts of Britain, be too fatally a cauſe of complaint, how will ſuch a ſtate be improved by their removal to another country, when at a greater diſtance from the importunity, if not the controul, of their conſtituents; leſs influenced by a ſenſe of public ſhame, if not awed by public opinion; and more open to the corruption of a ſelfiſh adverſe party? This will be eaſily felt by thoſe who take the trouble to conſider, whether with an Union-Parliament, Ireland could have accompliſhed her paſt atchievements; and if ſuch a body was not likely to ſerve her then, in her arduous conteſt, is there not preciſely the ſame reaſon to conclude, it cannot in any ſubſequent difference? Who ſhall preſumptuouſly aſſert, that cauſes of differences will not again ariſe? who will venture to affirm that power will not be abuſed, and that monopoly will remain inactive? But though nothing were infringed, will every thing be done? Will the Union-Parliament encourage the working of our collieries, the cutting of canals, the exploration and working of our mines of earths and minerals, the building of ſhips and docks? will it raiſe rivals to Whitehaven, Birmingham, Stafford, Mancheſter, and Liverpool? Will it encourage education and arts? That is, will it endeavour to make Ireland independent of Great Britain, by giving her more means in addition to thoſe ſhe poſſeſſes, of exiſting as a ſeparate ſtate? Let paſt experience give the anſwer.

Such would be the conſequences, though the Iriſh deputies to the Britiſh Parliament, were every man of them faithful to his truſt; but it is more natural to imagine, they will connect themſelves by reſidence with England, and be gained over to her cauſe, by the allurements of emolument and power. When they

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they ſurrender the intereſts of thoſe who deputed them, if an apology be wanting, they may eaſily alledge, as an excuſe for yielding, that they were too few to reſiſt. But they will feel no apology neceſſary: the members returned to the United-Parliament, will be only a few ſelf-choſen proprietors of land, and creatures of the Crown, who will appoint its own dependents through the patronage of the revenue; when a ſettlement with a few great Lords, and a few hirelings, will diſpoſe of the whole people of Ireland without ceremony. Such repreſentatives will be juſt of ſufficient conſequence, to obtain advantages for themſelves, by ſerving the Miniſter; but conſcious that upon any Iriſh queſtion, their oppoſition would be fruitleſs, they will not kick againſt the pricks, but quietly make their fortunes.

It is idle to pretend, that ſuch members will be a ſafeguard to the honour and intereſts of the country which they ſhall affect to repreſent; or that the Union will be a ſtate of equal benefits. Deluſive hope, or perfidious artifice! A Union which cannot place the contracting parties in equal power, is a real ſubjugation of one of them, by whatever name it may be diſguiſed. In order that an Union ſhould not detract from the honour or ſafety of Ireland, ſhe ſhould not only preſerve the entire proportion of her preſent Legiſlature, but as many more ſhould be added to that number, as would make the Iriſh a match for the Britiſh members. And even then the ſingle circumſtance of a removal from their own to a diſtant country, which was at once the ſeat of power, and the center of corruption, would decide the advantage againſt the country that ſent them. But if ſuch an adjuſtment be ſo inconvenient as to be hopeleſs, and that the contrary of it be unjuſt; needs there ſtronger proof of the unfitneſs of this heterogeneous coalition, or of the folly of expecting that it can be ſettled upon equal and honourable

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nourable grounds? It is obvious that the principle of equality cannot be maintained, without a meaſure of juſtice not to be looked for, nor violated, without a meaſure of injuſtice not to be endured. It is therefore evident, that the United Parliament muſt be ever Britiſh in its operation, and that the obſervance of the articles of Union, whatever they may be, muſt depend, not upon any ſufficiency in the Iriſh members to maintain them, but upon the generoſity and good faith of the Britiſh Senate. Whether or not, Engliſh good faith is to appear in a new character, my argument is, that we can have no preſumption ſo ſtrong for its being obſerved, as we have that it will be broken; becauſe, for its being infringed, we have the moſt powerful incentives which actuate nations, their intereſts; and for its being kept inviolate, only an inducement of honour, not always cogent upon individuals, and with regard to nations almoſt null. Thus, the only thing that could excuſe in an Iriſh Senator the preſumption of an act, to which he is ſtrictly incompetent; the ſuppoſed advantageouſneſs of the terms, will be out of his power to perpetuate; and however it may ſeem ſtrange, it is nevertheleſs true, that this venality or folly can find no ſubterfuge in the pretended goodneſs of the bargain he makes for Ireland; for in the ſame proportion that it is favourable, the probability increaſes of its not being adhered to. I have been thus particular, beyond what would ſeem neceſſary in ſo plain a caſe, becauſe I have ſeen it laboured, in a recent publication aſcribed to a perſon in a confidential office,* but teeming with many other gratuitous, and ſeveral falſe aſſertions, as well as this one, that the new Union would not be to Ireland a ſtate of inferiority, or detriment. The writer of that pamphlet wiſhed to conceal this humiliating conſequence; but if the event take place. Iriſhmen will have to digeſt many other humiliations,

and

* Arguments for and againſt an Union.

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and what will perhaps appear to many of them, a greater evil.

Every independent ſtate has, in virtue of that condition, an inherent power of preſerving and promoting its own happineſs, which nothing but open conqueſt can deſtroy. Notwithſtanding her connection with Great Britain, Ireland poſſeſſes this power in proportion to her independence; and ſmall as that is, it is the only ſource, and preſervative, of whatever proſperity ſhe enjoys. Though inferior on the ſcale of abſolute power—ſince ſhe can be no longer bound by any but her own acts, ſhe in ſome meaſure poſſeſſes what amounts in its effects to a negative upon every act of imperial juriſdiction, that can apply to herſelf. The power it alſo gives her of commercially retaliating upon Britain, and withholding from her many neceſſary ſupplies, is ſome ſecurity againſt the injuſtice which ſhe would otherwiſe more abundantly ſuffer. In a matter of ſuch moment, no nation has ever had ſo unerring a rule of conduct. It is the experience of the greateſt diſtreſs, while under the Legiſlative ſubjection, now about to be revived in the ſhape of an Union; and of the moſt rapid proſperity, ſince the aſſertion of that independence, which ſhe is now called upon to ſurrender.

Our apprehenſions, however, from England, may be removed by the conditions of the compact, all of which will be previouſly known, becauſe the articles will ſtate them. But on the other hand will not the power that can effect the meaſure, be alſo able to regulate the terms? It is England ſeeks for this Union, not Ireland; England forces this Union, not Ireland; and England will take care to benefit by a meaſure, which ſhe alone puſhes forward in the criſis of our folly. Our proſpect therefore in the firſt inſtance, is no other than the loſs of every foſtering, every de-

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fenſive power, which a nation ſhould poſſeſs; and that England, as the ſtronger party in this competition, will, whenever ſhe chuſes, violate the compact which ſhe alone will have formed. The fairneſs of the conditions can be the only plauſible ground for acceding to them on our part; but the advantage of them to her, is the only ſufficient reaſon for ſuppoſing they will be obſerved. She will, in conſequence of her great majority of native members, and her facility of corrupting all, poſſeſs of neceſſity a power to make Parliamentary alterations, to which the future United Parliament will be full as competent as the preſent Borough one.

Is there however any probability that England will ever think it advantageous or politic, to infringe the articles of Union? This queſtion will naturally occur, and be preſſed perhaps, by thoſe who affect to rely upon Britiſh honour. Whether or no, it muſt be admitted to be a leſs valid ſecurity for promoting the welfare of a diſtinct nation, than it ought to find in its own Parliament; and that the latter is not juſtifiable in abandoning national intereſts and honour upon ſo precarious a reliance. But the fact is, temptations will ariſe along with the power of violating the reciprocity of the compact. The ſame inducements will remain of ſelf-intereſt, and monopoly and avarice, which led to the annihilation of the woollen manufacture, and the virtual prevention of many others to which our ſituation was adapted. Will not thoſe Engliſh members of Parliament who applaud the ſyſtem of torture and maſſacre, of houſe-burning, rapine and rape, ſo indiſcriminately and ſo extenſively practiſed under the late Adminiſtration, will they not alſo approve of coercing Iriſh pockets, for the benefit of the empire? The two countries having nearly the ſame climate and ſoil, producing the ſame raw materials, and this being better fitted for trade, will be conſidered

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ſidered a natural rival to Britain in manufactures and commerce. Engliſh jealouſy, which has never ſlept, will then have whom it may devour; and if the Miniſter ſhall think it ſerviceable to his views, Ireland will be ſacrificed anew, to Britiſh faction or aggrandizement.

Let me therefore urge, with the confidence of experience, that a return to the ſame, and ſtill more a ſinking into a worſe ſtate of dependence, muſt be attended with the like, or even greater beggary and diſgrace. For as the continual wretchedneſs conſequent upon our ſubjection to England, ſprung from the ſelf-intereſt and domineering ſpirit of man, and depends therefore upon a cauſe as conſtant as his paſſions, no articles that ſhall be now ſettled, can by poſſibility have the guarantee of an equal antagoniſt force for their preſervation, whenever with power greater than the former, inducements ſhall recur for their violation.

Already do the partizans of this meaſure inſidiouſly lay it down as a principle, that the new Union will differ in this from the old, that England ſhall not in future make laws excluſively to bind Ireland. The terms of the Union may import as much, and the preamble of the act which ſhall annihilate the name, and honour, and independence of our country; which ſhall take from us our own, and cannot give us any other; for the broad and ſeparating ocean proclaims we never ſhall be one; this ſhameful deed, which by deſtroying our identity as a nation, muſt deſtroy all nationality of ſentiment and action; which will chill and contract all thoſe proud and generous feelings that make patriotiſm no leſs a duty than a paſſion; and ſubtract all nutriment and ſoil from theſe diſintereſted charities, that expanding from kindred and ſelf to repoſe upon our country, convert the beſt inſtincts of

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the heart into the ſureſt handmaids of a people's happineſs and glory. This traitorous deed, which will attempt to convey away our antient name, and our auſpicious deſtinies, will nevertheleſs declare, that it is highly expedient for the proſperity of Ireland, and the political aſcendency of a fraction of her population, that an Union of power, a reciprocation of benefits, and an equality of rights, ſhould ſubſiſt between her and England for ever and for ever. What then? If ſuch in fact, and not in ſemblance, were the compact to-day, we can have no certainty that it will out-live to-morrow; for we *can* have no adequate power to enforce or preſerve it. The nation, that by giving up its defenſive power, places itſelf at the diſcretion of another, may fare like thoſe men who come in upon protections, and are ſhot with them in their pockets.

In ſuch a tranſaction, the queſtion will eternally recur, can we have any ſecurity for the obſervance of the articles, equal to the power we ſurrender of acting for our own good? If in a few years the people of Great Britain ſhould find the Union inconſiſtent with their welfare, is it not reaſonable to aſſume, that their own repreſentatives, will ſtop at no alteration to remove the evil? It will not, I may venture to ſay, be deemed a ſufficient objection, that in doing this, they would interfere with the intereſts of the people of Ireland. Moreover, to juſtify any infraction, it is only neceſſary to alledge, that as England ſought for the Union, to ſtrengthen and benefit the empire, the beſt mode of adhering ſtrictly to the ſpirit of the agreement, will be by bringing it back to a fulfilment of the original deſign. But in this new diſcuſſion, it will be no longer an independent nation treating with another, upon a footing of equal rights, and, what is of more conſequence, of equal juriſdiction: it may be Sicily ſupplicating Rome, and appealing to the generoſity of the Senate, againſt the atrocities of a Proconſul.

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This argument of inſecurity goes to the root of the queſtion, and with any honeſt Iriſhman, would be ſufficient at once to ſuperſede all treaty. But the deceptions induſtriouſly propagated by the corrupt abettors of Engliſh dominion, are ſo various, as to require ſome further notice, though in every inſtance they will be found hollow and deluſive.

It will be attempted to eſtabliſh a diſtinction between articles fundamental and not fundamental; and that the former ſhall be ſuch, as not even the United Parliament ſhall preſume to meddle with; but that they muſt be always held ſacred and immutable. Such however can be nothing elſe but abſtract or inſignificant points; as the admiſſion of the equal rights of both nations, and the ſtipulation for ſending a given number of members to the common Parliament. But whether they be one or one hundred, I have already ſhewn to be of equal inutility to Iriſh intereſts; and it will be adding mockery to injury, to acknowledge our independent rights, in the moment of their ſurrender. The very propoſal of any immutable conditions, proves the well grounded jealouſy which the one nation feels ſhe ought to entertain; which the other may for the moment ſubmit to, conſcious that at the firſt hoſtile ſhock of adverſe intereſts, there will be but one uncontroulable party, and a thouſand pretexts in its train. Who that has witneſſed the encroachments made upon the ſacred and fundamental principles of the Conſtitution, can be the dupe of ſuch fallacious pretences? Was not Magna Charta ſacred and fundamental; were not the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, the Trial by Jury, ſacred and fundamental? Is there any thing fundamental againſt abſolute power, or ſacred from its ruffian graſp, that it ſhall determine to deſtroy?

This immutability of certain articles, whether or not obſerved, unleſs it related to things of no importance,

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tance, would be alike injurious. It would take away a power, which every Legiſlature ought to poſſeſs, of altering the ſyſtem of laws according to the improvements which time or circumſtances would ſuggeſt. In order then to prevent what in the event of an Union, would be our Legiſlature, from doing us injury or injuſtice, we muſt deprive it of a power eſſential to good government. Without unalterable articles of incorporation, we ſhall be governed like a conquered people; and with them, we ſhall be ill governed. If even they were fair and equal in the outſet, the altered proportions of importance, in things and circumſtances, incident to the ſucceſſion of time in all human affairs, but moſt rapidly in commercial arrangements, would in the caſe of immutable terms, ſoon overturn the equality. Conſequently the very ſecurity, and the only ſecurity, of whatever benefits an Union may be ſuppoſed to communicate, cannot be eſtabliſhed but to our detriment.

I have argued the caſe of fundamental, immutable articles, not that I think they ever would be obſerved; but to ſhew the utter impoſſibility of an Union being favourable to us in any caſe. Upon any conſiderable emergency, theſe pretended immutable conditions would be ſoon ſet aſide, and thereby the whole foundation and ſecurity of the treaty undermined. The preſervation of the heritable juriſdictions of Scotland, was one of the fundamental articles of the Scotch Union; nevertheleſs they were abrogated, and the proprietors of thoſe juriſdictions *compelled* to receive a compenſation in money, under colour that their property only was meant to be ſecured in the act of Union. In that inſtance an adherence to the compact would have been unwiſe; but where it was otherwiſe, the compact was equally violated, and there was no redreſs. This ſhews the folly of expecting that parchment will be a guarantee againſt power, and proves that

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that the Engliſh Parliament will always be the judge, and may ſometimes be a party. It is idle to diſſemble with our fears, or with our pride—ſuch muſt be the conſequences of an Union. We may not be injured as a nation, by any thing but ſuperior force of arms, and of that I have no dread, while we have a diſtinct will; but the moment we permit ourſelves to be bound by the act of another, we fall without a ſtruggle, to lie at that other's mercy.

What is then our proſpect from an Union, but that unleſs the Parliament of England may paſs acts relative to Ireland alone, it is impoſſible but ſhe muſt be for ever after an Union bereft of all legiſlative concurrence in aid of any local improvement; but that if to leave room for particular applications of legiſlative wiſdom, an opportunity will be given for England to make laws excluſively to bind Ireland, we ſhall be thrown back to that ſituation, which we already experienced to be fraught with ruin, and from which it is the greateſt boaſt of Iriſh patriotiſm to have delivered us.

That, however, which cannot in an abſolute ſtrictneſs be ſecured, it will yet be ſaid, fraud ſhall not fruſtrate; and that the guarantee of Engliſh good faith will ſupply the place of a diſtinct Legiſlature. The propoſed Union reſolves itſelf then into a *treaty*, which will profeſs, like all other treaties, that there ſhall be laſting peace and friendſhip between the high contracting parties, but in which, differently from all other treaties, one of the parties, which would naturally defend its own compact, will be annihilated by the very act.

Let not the domeſtic animoſities of the moment blind us to the conduct already obſerved by England, towards a large portion of the people of this country. The articles of Limerick were as ſolemn a treaty as

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the preſent can be; and the conſideration given at that day, by the Iriſh, was an invaluable price for the benefits thoſe articles ſhould have ſecured; but the Catholics relied upon good faith, and in the end they were deceived.

In like manner the articles of the Scotch Union were violated in a caſe favourable to England. The Scotch members, highly to their honour, reſiſted the infringement as far as their numbers would enable them, but they were the fewer party, and not permitted to ward off the evil, nor had they power to diſſolve the treaty.

It were adviſable for the Iriſh Parliament to pauſe upon theſe two examples, before it enters upon a negotiation with England, by which it is to be annihilated as a contracting party; and honeſtly to remember that in theſe two (the only ones in which the parties on one ſide, made a ſurrender of their effective powers,) the treaties were infringed.

When the Engliſh Parliament endeavoured in the diſguiſe of commercial propoſitions, to defraud Ireland of the power of regulating her external trade; ſhe gave us a proof that ſhe never had, and an aſſurance that ſhe never would, abandon her deſigns upon this country. I will leave it to any impartial man, if inſtead of an Iriſh Parliament receiving its impulſe from Iriſh feelings of honour and intereſt, we had at that time a certain number of repreſentatives merged in the Parliament of Great Britain, whether our free trade and our national independence, would have been—I will not ſay maintained, but whether they would not have been ſacrificed. Engliſh power would have carried the queſtion, though Engliſh influence were neuter; but both would have probably combined for our diſhonour and our undoing. If that avarici-

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ous and domineering British Parliament, which had juſt witneſſed the enthuſiaſm, and the patriotic devotion of the Volunteers, dared, while the triumph was yet recent, and the energy yet alive, to ſtrike with equal preſumption and perfidy at the laurels of 82, ſhall we be ſafer, when we are more at its mercy? What, Iriſhmen! does this Parliament and its directing Cabinet deſire by an Union, but the uſurpation of that freedom, little as it is, and of thoſe advantages attendant upon it, which they once yielded to the threatened exerciſe of your valour, and once before, endeavoured to filch from your credulity?

For us to form an eſtimate of the in future conduct, there can be no better rule than their paſt infidelity; and the more juſtly, as in all acts of this nature, the nation has been an accomplice with its government. In its relations with other ſtates, the inſtances of Punic faith are numberleſs; though in theſe, annexed to the odium of the violation, there was danger of chaſtiſement; but I ſhall notice only one: Certain forts bordering the lakes and the Indian territory, ſhould have been evacuated after the laſt general peace, and ceded to America; but as they were valuable ſtations for monopolizing the fur trade, they were held in poſſeſſion under various pretexts, and at one time at the hazard of hoſtilities. As ſoon as views of greater intereſt, ſhewed that it would be better to conciliate, than longer to defy the Americans; when the latter, by favouring the French, could ſo materially hurt the Engliſh, and ſo eaſily vindicate themſelves; then, and not till then, was the treaty of 83 complied with in all its parts; England manifeſting in this double proceeding, how little ſhe regards the mere obligations of juſtice; how entirely ſhe is ſwayed by the allurements of gain.

" Go back to the Parliament of England. I aſk again what were the difficulties in the way of your

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eleven propoſitions, what but the jealouſy of the Britiſh manufacturers on the ſubject of trade? And will you make them your Parliament, and that too for ever?" —(Grattan's ſpeech on the Commercial Propoſitions.)

How differently did the pulſe of Iriſh patriotiſm beat, when theſe juſt and applauded ſentiments were promulgated in Parliament, and ſanctioned by Ireland, from what it muſt do now, if the nation be capable to deſert, the no leſs wiſe and dignified policy they recommend. Will you make the Britiſh manufacturers your Parliament, and that too for ever? is in itſelf a volume of argument againſt the only good which can ever deluſively be held out to this country by an Union. The trivial progreſs of Ireland in trade and manufactures, is not denied to have been owing to the jealous controul of the Engliſh Parliament, while it was enabled to make laws to bind her; and can any abſurdity be ſo great, as to look for a remedy to the evil, in the increaſe of its cauſe? If indeed any benefits could be gained to us by the meaſure, it is a ſtrange way to give in purchaſe the power of preſerving them. It is ſuch a blunder as my countrymen are certainly not capable of committing from incapacity; and if it ſhall be done in Parliament, it will be from other motives, than a conviction of its utility—to Ireland.

The Channel trade is the only one which an Engliſh Parliament has in its power to open to independent Ireland; and if that is to be the only gain, high as the importance of it may be eſtimated, is there no mode of acquiring it, but by the ſurrender of our free agency, and of our national character? Common ſenſe and common honeſty will anſwer, that with ſo much in our power to grant, or to withhold from England, equitable conditions may be obtained from

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from her upon this or any other ſubject without an Union; and with this immenſe advantage, that our independence remaining, the contract for them may be enforced. They may be acquired like the free trade, and the renunciation. We are told by one of the greateſt men this country ever produced, and one of the moſt faithful to her intereſts, "That when "with regard to the former, we received from Eng-"land a dilatory anſwer, we ſhortened our money "grants to the Crown—we ſhortened them to the "ſubject. And the Iriſh public creditors, to their "immortal honour, embarked ſo fully with the rights "of the nation, as chearfully to accept of a ſix "months ſecurity. This rapid ſucceſſion of ſober "and conſiſtent efforts, ſtruck like lightning on the "Miniſtry and Parliament of England, all obſtacles "gave way, &c."—Par. Deb. vol. 1. p. 412. Can he be an honeſt man, who with this experience of the paſt, will propoſe to ſurrender our political exiſtence, in order to obtain what may be ſo well had without the ſacrifice?

But it will be ſaid, the Parliament is not now animated by the ſame ſpirit it was formerly, and will act no more in conformity with the wiſhes of the people, as it did upon other occaſions. This is an admirable reaſon for reforming the Parliament; but none at all for the people's becoming accomplices of its faults, by an approbation of its infidelity. It is not ſo much with the Parliament I argue, for the ſort of reaſons I have to offer, would be of little weight in that immaculate aſſembly; and it is beſides, in all probability, already prepared upon the ſubject; but as I am convinced the Britiſh Miniſter is for this once, more ſolicitous about the opinion of the people, than of their repreſentatives, it is therefore the more neceſſary for the people to come to a right underſtanding of the caſe, and to prove to the world,

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that however juſtly thoſe who bought their ſeats, may claim a power to ſell the uſe of them, the public at large is guiltleſs of the Union. One obſervation upon the logic of the advocates of the meaſure ſuggeſts itſelf here. They aſſert that the Iriſh Legiſlature not being independent, we loſe nothing in parting with it; and that if it were independent, it would be dangerous to the Empire. The conſequence of which reaſoning is to juſtify thoſe perſons, whether right or wrong, who think reform neceſſary, or the connection injurious; and it ſeems no argument can be brought in favour of the Union, that does not go to impeach the Parliament; or againſt the Union, that will not extenuate the conduct, we have been accuſtomed to reprobate in ſome of our unhappy brethren.

In the Secretary's Pamphlet it is expreſsly ſtated, that the Iriſh Parliament is ſuppoſed to be ſubject to Engliſh influence. When therefore the queſtion of Union is carried before our Parliament, Engliſh influence, it muſt be ſuppoſed, will have there to negotiate with itſelf. "What follows, that if we ne-"gotiate now, we muſt negotiate all on one ſide, &c. Now a negotiation in which one may give every thing, and gain nothing, may be called a negotiation by ſome men, but by moſt men it will be called folly.*

But if it were poſſible that I ſhould conſent to abandon the Parliament as indefenſible in every point of honeſty or patriotiſm, I cannot ſo readily agree to part with the quick-ſighted watch of oppoſition. As long as room is left, which it is by the *inſtitution* of Parliament, for ſome honeſt men to diſcuſs before the Iriſh public the intereſts of the country, the freedom of ſpeech, and even the partial freedom of the Preſs attendant upon it, will be ſome check upon the greateſt profligacy joined with the greateſt power.

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* Flood. Par. Deb. Vol. I. p. 410.

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The reproving voice that iſſues from the ſmalleſt minority, forms a valuable cenſorſhip in the head-quarters of Corruption, and a uſeful rallying point for the reaſon of the country. Though a man were ever ſo often cheated by his ſteward, it is no reaſon why he ſhould part with the title-deeds of his eſtate.

We alſo know, from the experience of the protecting duty, in the form of a regulation ſmuggled into an Iriſh act of Parliament, in favour of our cotton manufacture, now the ſecond in the country, by which alone it is able to contend in its own market, with the importations from Mancheſter, that an Iriſh Parliament may occaſionally do the country ſome ſervice, though not always as much as it ought. And if the almoſt ſurreptitious manner, in which it was carried though the Houſe, be duly conſidered, there needs not much ingenuity to diſcover, that the intereſts of Ireland are not likely to be better ſecured, where an adverſe influence will not have to operate at ſecond-hand.

Even a commercial treaty, the mode of regulating trade that would naturally occur to independent countries, would, if binding beyond a very ſhort period, be injurious to ours, which produces little beſides the materials of manufacture; but how much more, if we ſhall be for ever in the power of a manufacturing country, whoſe intereſt, and conſequently whoſe object will be to keep us a mere nation of conſumers? It is natural, that in proportion as we advance in proſperity we ſhould be competitors with England. This is more than ſhe is willing to admit; for, if her avarice did not, her exceſſive prodigality would require, an almoſt univerſal monopoly of the means of growing rich, and her deſperate Miniſter therefore preſumes to ſeize upon Ireland, to make up the deficit of her taxes, and ſupply new reſources to his profli-

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gate ambition. Widely extended as may be her trade, a participation in the little that remains with her to grant of it, can be no recompence for what she demands in return, though independence, one of the first earthly blessings, were not to be included in the surrender. An exactly reciprocal trade, the only boon she has to offer, for the immensely important privilege of regulating all our commerce, can only be reciprocally advantageous between countries in nearly an equal degree of improvement, and where the object and the effect would be to furnish the respective parties with more mutual convenience; or else where there are objects superfluous to each, but which may be mutually bartered—as if the Western coast of England were supplied with porter from Dublin, in place of getting it from London; and that Dublin should take coals from Whitehaven, instead of bringing them from the counties of Leitrim and Kilkenny. But with regard to manufactures this principle will not hold good, for that country which possesses them in the highest degree of perfection, with the greatest capital, and may at the same time freely supply the other, will prevent that other from ever establishing them. This shews how fallacious will be one of the pretended benefits of the Union, namely equal trade laws; and it will further appear, from what England will then deem an equitable construction of her Navigation act; that is, that all goods shipped from Britain, should be necessarily shipped in British bottoms; which would scarcely leave Ireland a ship at all, for that country which had most to export, and could limit the market of the other, would necessarily monopolize almost all the shipping, and consequently almost all the freight. It is in this monopolizing and delusive spirit, that England puts forward as a favour granted to this country, the premium she gives to her own merchants upon the export of our linens; by which she endeavours to make them the factors

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of our only great ſtaple, giving to them the profits of commiſſion and freight, and to her ſailors the advantages of employment.

The beſt way to promote the commerce of Ireland, is not by ſubjecting her to the trade laws of England, but by retaining in our own hands, and impartially exerciſing, the power of ſelf-defence and ſelf-improvement. This, if properly uſed, would quickly bring England to reaſon and reciprocity. We are the beſt of her foreign cuſtomers for manufactured goods, whereas what we ſend her, except in the article of linens, are raw materials, or the neceſſaries of life. If ſhe attempted to make repriſals on our linens, for the natural wiſh of doing juſtice to ourſelves, we may refuſe her woollens, and revive that antient and once flouriſhing manufacture at home. We may retaliate in the numberleſs luxuries we receive from her. Even our backwardneſs in arts, might in ſuch a caſe be turned to advantage. For as they are manufactured goods we receive, ſhe cannot afford to loſe our market; but as what we ſend out are neceſſaries, we cannot be at a loſs for one. It is more by imitating her example, than ſubmitting to her unequally operating laws, that we ſhall arrive at the ſame proſperity. Give us the ſame freedom which made her great, and the ſame exemption from foreign controul which enables her to preſerve and to advance her greatneſs; and then that prolific liberty, which can even cloath the deſert, will not be found fruitleſs here. If King William had effected an incorporating Union between England and Holland, and given to Dutch Merchants and Burgo-maſters, a majority in the Legiſlature of the Empire, what would have been at this day the proſperity of England? No, to give Ireland the weight and conſequence pertaining to an iſland ſo highly gifted by Nature, there needs but integrity in her Parliament, not an Union with Great Britain.

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We find in Jay's treaty a ſtriking inſtance of the advantage of national independence, preferably to Union or ſubjection. By the 13th article of that treaty, " veſſels belonging to American citizens, are to be admitted and hoſpitably received in all the Britiſh ſea ports in the Eaſt Indies, and may freely carry on trade between thoſe territories and the United States, in all articles of which the importation or exportation to or from thence ſhall not be entirely prohibited; under a reſtriction not to export, when Great Britain is at war, without the permiſſion of Government, any military ſtores or rice." Is it neceſſary to obſerve, if the Britiſh Parliament ſtill legiſlated for the colonies, that they would not be admitted to the advantages of a direct trade to India? Behold then in the participation communicated to the Americans, of the lucrative trade of the Eaſt, the recompenſe of ſucceſsful rebellion; and in the extinction of the Iriſh Parliament, the reward of unmeaſured loyalty.

If the Union be once carried, it will be uſed to the only purpoſe in which it can be more beneficial to England than the preſent connection: to enable her to mortgage this country for her debt, and increaſe her exhauſted facility of borrowing, by enlarging the ſecurity. This will involve an extenſion of her taxes; together with another conſequence, which will be a great objection, though a ſmaller loſs, and that is the ſubtraction of them from Iriſh corruption, to be abſorbed by Engliſh profuſion. Now if Ireland were for the firſt time to acquire a free trade, inſtead of actually poſſeſſing one, with ſuch a burthen annexed to it, as an aſſumption of part of the debt and taxes of England, and a growing principle of extending them, which we know from the conduct of the Miniſter in his own country, would be uſed not according to her abilities, but to his wants; even in ſuch

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ſuch a hypothetical caſe, the purchaſe price would be as enormous, as the compact would be baſe. A portion, when he has nothing to give, which we may not obtain in a ſafer and a cheaper manner, to place ourſelves in the hands of a neceſſitous and a jealous power, is not Union, but ſubjugation. It would be ſuch an act of inſanity for us to commit voluntarily, that the power which propoſes and carries, muſt deem it a conqueſt, not a treaty; and accordingly, impoſe its taxes as a tribute, and rule us as a province.

But it is alledged, *the French will never ceaſe to intrigue in this kingdom, whilſt we remain in our preſent ſtate.* This ſhould not be called our ſtate of independency, but our ſtate of diſcontent. The ſame alienation of attachment to their own Governments, which obtained for the French a welcome reception in other countries, is the only cauſe that gives them a facility of intriguing in this; and how that can be removed by an Union is inexplicable, unleſs the people ſhall come to think ſubjection better than independency, and that although deſirous of reform, that is of making Parliament more free, they will conſider it an improvement to have none at all.

Becauſe the French Republic has, in a ſeries of unexampled ſucceſſes, proſtrated every foe that ſhe could contend with upon equal terms, and that in conſequence of it, England finds her own relative importance reduced, ſhe dooms Ireland as a make-weight to repair her loſſes. It is alſo manifeſt, notwithſtanding the boaſted reſources of Britiſh wealth, that the Miniſter is at the laſt extremity for ſupplies to carry on the war, which he is not leſs unwilling, than he is unable to terminate. This forced him laſt year to hazard his popularity on the aſſeſſed taxes. Thoſe, with all the aid of voluntary contributions,

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having only ariſen to two-thirds of his eſtimate, he is driven this year, to the ſtill more deſperate expedient of ten per cent. upon income. When that proves as inſufficient as the other, is he to make up the deficiency, by demanding fifteen per cent. where he could not get ten? Oh no! but the tax upon income will be made to apply to Ireland, and our poor country deſpoiled, for the farcical liberation of Europe. Such will be the precious offspring of the Union.

Can 40,000 men be neceſſary to enforce a benefit? We have not unfrequently ſeen them employed to effect a people's ruin, and thank God! ſometimes ſo employed in vain. The extenſion of debt and taxes, which is to be the reciprocity of the Union, is wiſely not left to ſtand upon its own merits, but requires to be argued by mercenary bayonets. It is abſurd to expect, after ſuch an event, that mercantile capital will from any quarter, migrate to this unhappy land. If with a view to eſcape from taxes at home, it ſhould croſs the Iriſh Channel, it will be repelled back by our own burthens; and I ſhould not be ſurprized, if the preſent Miniſter of Ireland, hereafter made it a merit with his Engliſh friends, that he had taken meaſures to hinder it from finding any aſylum or exemption here. It may be ſaid, indeed, that were Ireland a free and unburthened country, ſameneſs of language, ſimilitude of manners and nearneſs of ſituation, might entice enterprize and capital, and arreſt much of that wealth and induſtry which is taking refuge beyond the Atlantic. Thoſe who did not chuſe to pay for ſupporting regular government at Conſtantinople, and liberating Europe from democracy, might ſettle here, and at laſt Engliſh folly might return ſome part back, of what was wrung from us by Engliſh dominion. But this is preciſely what the Union muſt prevent,

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prevent. It will leave nothing to the migrating capitalist to save, in point of taxes, and nothing to gain, in point of trade. The latter for this reason, that he will as effectually have the Irish market without removing; for it will be entirely under the regulation of his own Parliament. English skill and capital will accordingly have no inducement to remove to this subjugated province. This was well understood by the English adviser of the Union, when he proposed to indemnify Dublin, by making it the emporium of British manufactures, which English canals, are to convey so cheaply to Liverpool (p. 40. Arguments for and against an Union) and Irish canals, converted into a curse, are to convey so cheaply throughout Ireland, that to the remotest corner of the island, they shall crush the infantine competition of any native fabric.

Whenever trade and manufactures have migrated, it was always from a country of persecution and despotism, to one of greater comparative liberty. They were these two causes that drove to England the woollen and silk manufacturers—the one from the Low Countries, the other from France. But wherever persecution may rage, Ireland offers no retreat to the fugitive sons of freedom. The English trader would not find his liberty increased by coming here, and after an Union his protection would be less. I shall spare myself the pain of dwelling upon the thoughts that rise up along with this part of the subject. The futility of expecting, that a worse condition will be productive of advantages to our country, which were not brought about by a better one, has already been ably exposed by Mr. Barnes, in a work that deserves the warm thanks of every true Irishman.

Such a situation is preposterously compared by the advocate of the Union, to a partnership in trade.

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For here the parties have an umpire left, to prevent or puniſh an infraction of the agreement. If it does not anſwer their convenience, they may diſſolve, or at leaſt, not prolong it, beyond the ſtipulated term. Whereas the Union is more like a marriage, which if it prove ever ſo deſtructive or adulterous to Ireland, ſhe has no conſiſtory where to carry her complaint for ſeparation, though the Britiſh Neptune, when he has robbed her of her jewel of Independence, may, and will degrade her to drudge among his vaſſal colonies.

The argument brought in favour of the Union from the example of the increaſed proſperity of Scotland, ſince the Union of that country with England, I ſhall only mention to obſerve upon it, that when uſed by a man of ſenſe, it amounts to an admiſſion of the rottenneſs of his cauſe, which he is forced to prop by ſuch fallacies. Without adverting to the complete inertneſs of the Union, towards promoting the proſperity of Scotland, for ſixty years, until aided by other cauſes that did not excluſively belong to the meaſure; without adverting to the general improvement which time muſt bring with it every where that human induſtry is not cramped or counteracted; there are no reaſonings more fallacious than thoſe from vague analogy—indeed a perfect ſimilitude is ſcarcely to be found between thoſe camelion-like queſtions, which relate to the ever-varying intereſts of men. Thoſe perſons therefore, who argue from things that have gone before in favour of thoſe which are only poſterior to them, may as well ſay that Scotland proſpered, becauſe of the laſt eclipſe. The argument of analogy applies with equal facility to the converſe of the propoſition, and would juſt as well ſupport ſeparation. We ourſelves have proſpered in proportion as our ſubjection to England was leſſened; and America, after throwing off her dominion altogether,

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gether, is become, in the ſhort ſpace of 16 years, one of the moſt proſperous countries on the Globe. A candid inveſtigator of truth, who does not dread leſt her voice ſhould reject his ſyſtem, muſt admit that every where the ſalient and productive principle of Liberty and Independence, is according to the meaſure it abounds, the parent of national proſperity and greatneſs. It was that drew Holland from the waves, turned her marſhes into gardens, rendered her cities more numerous than the hamlets of other countries, and alternately made the ocean the monument of her aſſiduity and her triumphs; it was that cloathed the mountains of Switzerland with habitations and life, made her vallies ſmile in contented eaſe; and in both thoſe countries, ornamented the creations of induſtry, with the wreath of ſcience and the palm of glory. Theſe, O Liberty and Independence! were your prolific bleſſings—may they ever animate the energies of my country, and grant to her innumerable aptitudes, the untributary rewards of induſtry and commerce!

Take then this Union, as it affects all the ſources of wealth and conſequence, it will be found one of the moſt overbearing and rapacious projects, which power can dictate to a fallen people; take it as it affects conſtitution and national dignity, it is one of the moſt inſulting and deſpotic. While the French Republic incorporates her conqueſts into her Empire, however criminal her ambition in doing ſo, ſhe only unites countries contiguous to her own territory, as Scotland is to England, and does not refuſe to *all* their inhabitants, an entire participation in *all* her advantages in every ſhape and degree; whereas an Union between Ireland and England would be one between countries that have not a ſingle point of contact, and the ſmaller of which, is as fully competent to exiſt independent of the other, nay of the whole world, as Great Britain is to exiſt independent of France.

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France. The French Republic proſcribes no deſcription of ſubjects; but we are told, and it is ſeriouſly recommended to Proteſtants, as a motive for agreeing to the Union, that the perpetual and ſecure inferiority of the Catholics of Ireland, will be one of its beneficial effects; while to the Catholics themſelves is held out a bribe for their clergy, and ſome vague hopes of undefined, indeterminate privileges to the laity, as if the Catholics were bigots of the ſixteenth century, and had not as juſt and proud a ſenſe, both lay and clerical, of the bleſſings of civil and political liberty, as their more favoured countrymen. The attention of the public is turned with much anxiety to the conduct they ſhall obſerve upon this great queſtion. The ſanguinary perſecution they have ſuffered, will, as ſome fear, and others hope, render them regardleſs of the fate of a country, in which they may not arrive at the proud diſtinction of citizens; but their malignant paſſions may be gratified, by concurring in the degradation of their oppreſſors. The Catholics of Ireland leave rancour and malignity to their enemies: They who might perhaps long ſince, in deſpite of Gaand Juries and Orange-lodges, have obtained the removal of thoſe reſtrictions, which peculiarly affect themſelves, if they had concurred in crying down the ſacred principles of Liberty, inſtead of manfully aſſerting them; if inſtead of Catholic franchiſe, they had not contended for Iriſh Freedom; will not tarniſh their honour or forſake their duty, to gratify the worſt and baſeſt of human paſſions—revenge. They cannot ſurely be allured to it, by the Caſtle project of an Union; which impudently tells them, it is preſumed they will be content, when they ſhall be reduced to deſpair, and emancipation placed totally beyond their hopes or acquiſition. That ſuch would be their fate, they have a ſufficient aſſurance, in the pertinacious bigotry of that foreign clergy, who ſtill refuſe the juſt claims of the

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Proteſtant Diſſenters, who ſpurn with greater fury thoſe of the Engliſh Catholics, and who, if a new Goſpel were to come from Heaven, would raiſe againſt it the burning zeal of a Birmingham mob. But let not the friends of Iriſh Independence ungratefully forget, that the Catholics of Ireland have always acted with that fidelity to their country, which ſhould naturally characterize the majority of the people. When miſguided and falſe notions of duty, led them at the Revolution to adhere to the abdicated Monarch, who claimed by hereditary right, in preference to him who was invited from a foreign Republic, with his foreign army, to the relief of an oppreſſed people; and whom (if they conſidered but their intereſt) they too might have ſecured to themſelves the benefit of electing; did they not however make the freedom of Ireland, the condition of their allegiance. In the acts of that illuſtrious Parliament held by King James in Back-lane, we find proviſions for aſſerting and maintaining the Independence of the Iriſh Legiſlature, for making trade free, for encouraging manufactures and ſhipping, and reforming the repreſentation; but not a line to exclude any deſcription of Iriſhmen, from the bleſſings of general liberty, from the competition of honourable employment, or the participation of any of the powers, dignities, or immunities of the ſtate.

When in the American war they perceived a beginning change of diſpoſition leſs hoſtile to their religion and intereſts, in ſome few acts of moderate juſtice, and yet timid liberality; did they not, with a generous partiality for their ſlowly relenting countrymen, prefer to accept of ſlight favours at their hands, ſooner than invite the power that hovered upon their coaſt, that had already given aſſurance of emancipation to America, which it ſhortly afterwards fulfilled?

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We meet the Catholics again, after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, upon occaſion of a threatened Union, ſtand forward as Iriſhmen, generouſly forgetting their own wrongs for the concerns of their country. If Iriſh feelings be not benumbed to every thing national or heroic, by the anodyne of Engliſh gold; the recollection of the Catholic meeting in Francis-ſtreet Chapel, on the 9th of April, 95, ought to diſabuſe their opponents. But whether or no, I truſt the Catholics will preſerve their character of unſullied patriotiſm, and never become inſtruments to degrade their native land. From their deluded countrymen, who themſelves were duped and corrupted by Engliſh policy, they have ſuffered much, alas! too much; but by their own act alone can they be diſhonoured, and from this misfortune they are yet free. They cannot forget the noble and Catholic ſentiment of an able and enlightened member of their body, now unhappily no more, of Dr. Ryan—*that it is better they ſhould do penance for Ireland, than that Ireland ſhould do penance for them.* I was preſent that day in the crowd, a witneſs to his poliſhed eloquence, when he ſpoke theſe remarkable words—"If the Britiſh Miniſter ſhould come forward with Union in "one hand, and Catholic Emancipation in the other, "would you acquieſce in the former, for the ſake of "the latter? Would you barter the Rights of Ire-"land, for Catholic Freedom?" A burſt of indignation, and a cry of no! no! iſſued that day from the aſſembled Catholics of Dublin. He proceeded—"I know you would not, and I only put the queſtion, "in order that you may diſmiſs it with the ſtamp of "your indignation. It is morally impoſſible you "could harbour ſuch a diſhonourable intention. "The Catholics are the great majority of the peo-"ple of Ireland, and it is impoſſible that the majo-"rity of any people can be guilty of an act of "treachery, to the land that gave them birth. A

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" PARTY may betray the people, but the people " cannot betray themſelves; for ſelf-preſervation is " the firſt law in the breaſt of nations, as well as in " the breaſt of individuals; and even if you were to " ſtoop to ſo diſgraceful an act, as to bargain for " your own rights, by ſelling the rights of your " countrymen, you would not long ſurvive the ruin, " or profit by the diſaſters you had ſpread around you. " The ſlavery you cauſed would be communicated to " you back again, and you would ſoon aſcend the " ſame hearſe that brought your country to the " tomb." He concluded an elegant and impreſſive ſpeech, by this appoſite reſolution—" That we are ſincerely and unalterably attached to the RIGHTS, LIBERTIES, and INDEPENDENCE of our NATIVE COUNTRY; and we pledge ourſelves collectively and individually to reſiſt, even our own emancipation, if propoſed to be conceded upon the ignominious terms of an acquieſcence, in the fatal meaſure of AN UNION with the ſiſter kingdom."

Such were the ſentiments of the Catholics of this great city, in 95, which Dr. Ryan only embodied in a reſolution, to which was not heard a ſingle ſentence of diſſent. Death has ſince deprived the nation of that valuable life. With affectionate emotion, and public, as well as private feelings, I deplore the loſs. After much intimacy, which never abated my reſpect, I muſt ſay of him in truth, that his virtues were an honour to his kind, his talents an ornament to his country, and his honeſty ſo pure, that they never would be employed, but to promote its welfare, and maintain its rights. At that time (and we would do well to advert much upon the preſent to that occaſion), it was ſaid by another Catholic of diſtinguiſhed talents—" However we may differ in doc- " trinal tenets, as our morality is one, becauſe we " are Chriſtians, ſo ſhall our politics be one, becauſe

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" we are Iriſhmen. We have all the ſame God and " the ſame Country, and as we agree in the obliga- " tion of promoting the glory of the one, ſo we will " all co-operate in the taſk of promoting the inte- " reſt of the other." And a little further, " Weak " and wicked man (Pitt) does he think the Catholics " of Ireland will purchaſe their Emancipation at the " price of Iriſh Liberty? At what time could the " conduct of the Catholics of Ireland juſtify, or " give riſe to a ſuppoſition of this contumelious na- " ture? In the war with America, a war that ſhould " be for ever a leſſon to Miniſterial arrogance and " preſumption, when the fleets of France rode tri- " umphant in the Engliſh Channel, and hovered " round the Iriſh coaſt; when Ireland was left to " Providence, and to herſelf, how did the Catholics " then act? Did they think of themſelves? No, they " thought of their country." Again—" Kings, " Parliaments, and Conſtitutions, have yielded to " the hand of time, and the ravages of power, for " what is there human that can withſtand them? " But the rights of the people, on which Kings, " Parliaments and Conſtitutions reſt, ſhall remain " unhurt amidſt the general wreck; immutable as " the God who beſtowed them, eternal as the prin- " ciples of juſtice upon which they are founded. " Would the people of England acknowledge that " the Parliament of England was competent to ſur- " render its powers to Ireland? Is there a man in " either kingdom, who would venture to hazard ſuch " an aſſertion? And is not the people of Ireland as " independent, and as ſelf-exiſting, as the people of " England? Is not the Parliament of Ireland, with " the King of Ireland at its head, in every point of " Conſtitutional theory, exactly the ſame as that of " England? Who then ſhall dare to aſſert, that " the Parliament of Ireland can do that, which the " Parliament of England cannot?"

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It will not detract from the truth of thoſe ſentiments, that one of the authors of them is in the grave, and the other is in exile—nor do I wiſh to panegyrize the living; I only contend, that the Catholics of Dublin adopted them in 95; that the Catholics of Ireland applauded them after; and that I believe they have too much magnanimity, as well as wiſdom, not to perſevere in them to the end.

Although ſome of the evils of an Union, do not apply to the Catholics in their preſent condition, for privileges which they have not, they cannot loſe; yet in what they may acquire, or what they have to forfeit, does it apply to them moſt forcibly. It comes to them under ſuſpicious auſpices, for who are to lay down and mete its conditions, but their moſt implacable and acrimonious enemies in both kingdoms; men who for a moment may condeſcend to cheat them with hopes, but who do not poſſeſs enough of philoſophy or temper, ever to forget their own prejudices, or the injuries they have done them. They who but the other day, made the reverence of Catholics for the Virgin, and their harmleſs acknowledgment of the Pope's ſpiritual ſupremacy in their own religion only, a ground for excluding them from ſome of the moſt valuable rights of citizens, as dangerous enemies to the ſtate; muſt, if the oppoſition they then gave be honeſt, rather endeavour with the firſt opportunity, to abridge ſooner than extend the power of perſons who hold ſuch *formidable doctrines*. If the oppoſition they gave had other motives than thoſe they alledged, then were they hypocrites, whoſe aſſurances or compact are entitled to no reliance. They tell the Catholic, in order to reconcile him to this meaſure of an Union, that his clergy ſhall be penſioned, and give him hopes of his pretenſions being admitted, in conſequence of that event; but they tell the Proteſtant, in order to reconcile him alſo, that by it the Catholic

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ſhall be chained down to perpetual inferiority. Although the contradiction did not betray the intended fraud, ſurely no Catholic in his ſenſes can be the dupe of ſuch juggling; no more than of that ſimulated concern for his religion, which the ſame party affects, when it would fain inſinuate that it is nothing ſhort of Atheiſm in a member of the Romiſh Church, to proteſt in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt giving it a civil eſtabliſhment. Surely, Catholics, the words yet grate upon your ears, which inſolently miſnamed your religion, a *thing only fit for fools or knaves*; and can you truſt to the mockery of regard for it from any ſuch quarter, or be deceived by the crocodile tears that fall from aſcendency, lay, or churchmen for the Pope, whom they have ever reviled, and your religion, which, down from the malevolent Biſhop of Cloyne, to his dull aſſiſtant, Dr. Hales, has been the conſtant theme of their vituperation and ridicule? Had it been ſaid the Catholics wiſhed to ſubvert the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, not for the ſake of an exemption from tithes; not for the ſake of removing the many dangers to Religion and Liberty, conſequent to all religious eſtabliſhments; not for the ſake of that perfect freedom of conſcience, which can only exiſt where no penalties or excluſions are incurred for heterodoxy, but in order to ſet up their own in the place of it—what fruitful themes of invective had been thus afforded to the author of the former character, and what a ſupply of matter to the candid and decorous ſtrains of Dr. Duigenan! How they would have rung the changes upon this ſo often ſlandered religion, who are ſedulous at the ſame moment to miſrepreſent ſome lamentable acts of retaliation and deſpair, as the pure and genuine offspring of Catholiciſm!

Religion is one thing, the civil eſtabliſhment of it another; and is one of the firſt abuſes, which diſfigured

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gured by its alliance the beautiful ſyſtem of Chriſtianity. Religious eſtabliſhments have been always hurtful to the cauſe of Religion. To Liberty they are not leſs ſo; and when that of Ireland is to be carried oſſ, we ſee a propoſed eſtabliſhment to the Catholics, iſſue from the ſame region, with the other diſtempers of an Union. But the bait betrays the purpoſe: The Catholic clergy will not firſt take bribes, to be afterwards obliged to take commiſſions of the peace, though they ſhould be tempted to recruit the ſable army of *active magiſtrates*, by the allurements of a demi-eſtabliſhment of their own. In all Chriſtian Churches, ſays the profound and ſagacious author of the Wealth of Nations, Vol. 2. p. 317. Dub. edit. 1793. the benefices of the clergy are a ſort of freeholds which they enjoy not during pleaſure, but during life, or good behaviour. If they held them by a more precarious tenure, and were liable to be turned out upon every ſlight diſobligation either of the Sovereign or of his Miniſters, it would perhaps be impoſſible for them to *maintain their authority with the people*, who would then conſider them as *mercenary dependents upon the Court*, in the *ſincerity of whoſe inſtructions they could no longer have any confidence.*

Until the American and French revolutions, all rulers appeared deſirous of propping their authority, by rendering as much as poſſible the clergy dependent upon themſelves; for as the civil *eſtabliſhment* of the church wanted inherent ſtrength, by wanting the ſupport of reaſon, it is of the nature of all eſtabliſhed clergy, when they are ſo unfitly circumſtanced, to make common cauſe with the ſtate, *whatever it may be.* This has made the *eſtabliſhed clergy* uphold with equal zeal the inquiſitorial tyranny of Spain and Portugal, the ariſtocratic deſpotiſm of Venice, the more equal republicaniſm of Holland, and the paſſive obedience

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dience exacted in England before the revolution. It prompted in our own time, one of the mitred fronts to declare in the British Senate, that the people have nothing to do with the laws, but to obey them, and has turned the eſtabliſhed clergy of Ireland, into hunters of their wretched countrymen, to enjoy the conflagration of their dwellings, and ſcent their lacerated footſteps with the keenneſs of antient Britons. It "converted the ſpiritual guide into a court conſtable, and the paſtor of the flock into a leader of detachments, whoſe fold became the county gaol, and whoſe flock was his priſoners."* To this cauſe is it owing, that under monarchies and republics, under all religions, whether Romiſh or Reformed, divine right and non-reſiſtance, were the doctrines of the clery, when they were the doctrines of their patrons. To this is it owing that we ſcarcely ever hear them inveigh in their eloquent homilies, or pious exhortations, againſt the political corruptions of government, though they form ſo eſſential and large a part of morals, and ſubvert more extenſively the principles of virtue, that can be done by any private depravity; but reſerve with courtly prudence their anathemas for the turbulent tranſgreſſions of the people, or ſuch vices only, as do not interfere with the adminiſtration of thoſe who govern. The abuſes belong neither to religion, nor its miniſters, conſidered ſimply as ſuch; but to the civil eſtabliſhments, which ſeduce the frailty of human nature into acts of corrupt complaiſance, or unchriſtian perſecution. If left to God and to their flocks, the venerable names of the clergy would perhaps leſs than thoſe of any other men, be diſgraced by an alliance with deſpotiſm; for the maxims of the Goſpel are thoſe of natural and civil equality, the baſis of true liberty; the very ſame, notwithſtanding the calumnies of intereſted tyrants, which were tranſplanted into the declaration

* Petition of the Whig Club to the King.

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tion of rights, prefixed to the American and French Conſtitutions. They wrong the information of Catholics, who preſume to ſuppoſe them ignorant of theſe truths; and however it may diſpleaſe the imps of national diſſenſion, and the purveyors of abſolute power, they are not deſirous of a civil eſtabliſhment for their clergy; but as they value the liberties of their country, and cheriſh their religion, they proteſt againſt the inſidious project of adulterouſly connecting it with the ſtate.

A formal communication, I underſtand, has been made by a noble Secretary, to two Catholics of diſtinction, beſpeaking their concurrence in the Union; but informing them they could not for the preſent be included in its arrangements. It was expected probably, they would as uſual acquieſce from humility; but I think they ſhould conſider themſelves happy, not to be involved in its diſgrace. It is certain, much ſpirit was never manifeſted by that deſcription of Catholics. With a very few exceptions, however, and ſome indulgent allowances, which generoſity, if not ſtrict juſtice, ſhould yield to the prejudices of education; they cannot be deemed unfriendly to the liberties of their body, nor ſo uninformed as not to know them. Thoſe among them who may juſtly pretend from the advantages of rank or fortune, to ſit in the Legiſlature of their country, and are ſenſible how much all the conſiderations which ſhould influence a government, conſpire to accelerate in their favour the advances of a too tardy liberality, cannot but perceive how much they will be fruſtrated of the benefit of circumſtances and their own weight, when they ſhall have to carry their queſtion by appeal, to the bar of a foreign Parliament. An alteration will be difficultly made in their favour, in the Parliamentary Conſtitution of England; as there the clerical logic of innovation, could be no longer pleaded againſt the Diſſenters; and the diſciples of Prieſtley and Price are not, it is ſaid, in ſufficient odour of ariſtocracy, to be admiſſible within

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within the ſanctuary of the ſtate. When the Parliament and Conſtitution of Ireland, are tranſlated to a better place, in recompenſe of their virtues, let the Catholic look round, and he may ſee the important offices of high and ſub-ſheriff, left to invite his ambition, and remain to a benign Sovereign, for the diſplay of Princely munificence. That is, if any of the ſhreds and tattered rags of the privileged orders of the Iriſh Conſtitution remain unexported to Duke's Place, the Catholics will be graciouſly permitted to bow at the Caſtle, for the favour of wearing them. Catholics! you are certainly not treated with much ceremony for the preſent, but propoſed, cavalierly enough, to be handed over to the Engliſh Parliament; where the hypocritical Wilberforce may perhaps bring a clauſe for your emancipation, into his next bill for aboliſhing the ſlave trade. Permit me to requeſt your attention to the following paſſage of an official pamphlet, as it will give you a pretty broad hint of what is thought in the ſuperior region from whence it iſſues, the fitteſt principle whereby to rule you.

"The Proteſtants ſtate, that when the Catholics "were reſtrained by ſevere laws, the kingdom con- "tinued in tranquillity for a century; but ſo ſoon as "national confidence, the reſult of that tranquillity, "induced them to repeal the reſtrictions by which "the Catholics were bound, the antient ſpirit of ri- "valry revived, and the Catholics demanded ſuch a "change of the Conſtitution, as would gradually "transfer to them all the power of the ſtate."

The concluſion is obvious—that excluſion is the moſt judicious policy to be obſerved towards the Catholics; and this oracle comes from an Engliſhman, in the intimacy at leaſt of the Engliſh Cabinet. This gentleman is not ſo unacquainted with human nature or events, as not to know that the ſpirit of rivalry revived, not becauſe the reſtrictions were removed, but that

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that a ſpirit of liberty grew up, and proſtrated ſome of the reſtrictions before it. Becauſe of the American and French revolutions, and of the embarraſſments of the Britiſh government coincident with thoſe events, and the ſeaſonable exertions of the Catholics themſelves.

Theſe cauſes are too manifeſt to eſcape the penetration of the author of the pamphlet, but the more obvious they are, the plainer alſo is the deſign of making the principle of excluſion the meaſure of future policy towards the Iriſh Catholics. Not that there will be much to withhold, but in hopes that little may ſtill keep up the fatal ſpirit of diſunion and animoſity.

While the ſilly objection of the Pope's ſpiritual ſupremacy is made an impediment to Catholic emancipation, nothing can be more evident than that its force will be as great in the Britiſh Parliament, whither Catholic hopes and claims would be transferred, as it is here; for until his Grace of Canterbury ſhall charitably condeſcend to give his Holineſs a lodging at Lambeth, the ſpiritual ſupremacy will be as much a foreign juriſdiction in England, as it is in Ireland; and the ſplenetic ravings of Mr. Ogle, or the ribaldry of Dr. Duigenan, be juſt as good arguments in St. Stephen's Chapel, as they were in College-green.

In conſequence of an Union, the argument of numbers, the author of the pamphlet ſays, would be turned againſt the Catholics, and of courſe an argument of right ſubtracted from their pretenſions. This, if it were true, would not, I preſume, advance their claims. Beſides, whatever credit this writer poſſeſſes, goes to aſſure the Proteſtants, and he cannot conceal the ſecret from the Catholics, "that they (the Proteſtants) may reſt aſſured, the Britiſh Parliament

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" will not imprudently admit Catholic pretenſions, as " the *teſt laws* could not be *partially* repealed."

Whatever reliance therefore a Catholic Peer and a Right Rev. Prelate, are deſired to place in the *future* diſpoſitions of the Britiſh Senate, they will, after an Union, have no means to induce or to determine its liberality. In their failure they might be conſoled, by recollecting that the object of purſuit had ſunk in value; for an admiſſion into the Britiſh Parliament, if attainable, would to almoſt all of them be a barren privilege. This makes the Union peculiarly injurious to the Catholics, both as it tends to perpetuate their diſabilities, and, in the improbable caſe that theſe were removed, as they themſelves would totally ſink in a competition with the perſons who muſt paſs into the imperial Legiſlature; whereas in an Iriſh one, their importance would be great, and daily becoming more ſo. But all from which Parliaments derive conſequence—the free ſuffrages of the people —that which makes franchiſes of value, whether elective or repreſentative, the authority they confer— that which gives proſperity to nations, and dignity to man, Liberty and Independence will be ſnatched alike, by this fatal meaſure, from the great maſs of Iriſhmen of every perſuaſion. If the Catholics, however, whoſe approbation of it is partly canvaſſed through their reſentments, ſhould let themſelves be deceived by that, and vague profeſſions, or nugatory promiſes; they will in ſome meaſure countenance the contumely ſo often manifeſted for their feelings and capacity, when they are by the ſame party alternately injured and cajoled. They ought not to be ignorant, that it is contrary to the nature of monopoly, to be juſt or generous, and that in their caſe it never was ſo; but that as they are indebted to their increaſed importance, for the acquiſitions they have made, ſo when the operation of this importance is diminiſhed by

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by an Union, for they muſt largely partake of the general degradation, they will be removed in the proportionate degree from all political dignity and power —objects naturally of eſtimation, if not always of purſuit, to every elevated mind. Part of this importance conſiſts in the mutual amity and good underſtanding eſtabliſhed between them and the Diſſenters; a thing equally honourable to religion and to patriotiſm, and conducive to the liberties of both, while a native Legiſlature exiſts within the realm; but when a few individuals far beyond the influence of popular ſuffrage, are the ſelf-appointed, pretended repreſentatives of Ireland, there can be no more emancipation, and no more reform—at leaſt by what is commonly called conſtitutional means.

Nothing can at the ſame time more ſtrongly evince the corruptions of Parliament, and how much thoſe perſons were in the right, who contended for reform; than that a meaſure ſhould paſs, by which the faithleſs agents of the people of Ireland, ſhould rob it of all effectual controul over its own concerns, in order to give that controul to the people of another country. It can be no longer doubtful that they muſt have been capable of ſelling their political ſervices, who can be induced to part with their political exiſtence. The ſmallneſs of the relation between the Parliament and the People, is the fertile and paramount grievance ſo juſtly complained of by the friends of Liberty, and an augmentation of the miſchief, by which it will be totally in the power of a ſet of Engliſhmen to make laws to bind Ireland, muſt be held a deciſive proof of the exiſtence of the corruption, in the conſummation of its exerciſe. A virtuous Parliament requires not to be annihilated; and an honeſt one, would be incapable of ſelling the birth-right of its conſtituents. With the knowledge of its diſpoſitions, which government muſt poſſeſs, it inſinuates, by preſuming to bring forward a meaſure ſo odious, that there is

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nothing with which it may not affront the honour of that aſſembly, and that it may not expect from its venality: thus juſtifying the reformer, by what it preſumes upon the Parliament. The world has agreed in allowing, that the Roman Senate was ſunk into the moſt abject ſtate of corruption, when there was nothing ſo baſe that the Emperors dare not propoſe to it, and nothing they propoſed, that it did not confirm.

It is alſo worthy of remark, that every argument in favour of an Union, is one againſt the exiſting connection; and yet it is for maintaining the inconvenience of this ſtate, that ſo many of the people have been proſcribed and butchered; but which may be avowed by thoſe alone who would modify it, not in favour of Ireland, but of Great Britain. Nevertheleſs Union and Separation are correlative terms, and in fair argument the conſideration of one, cannot be ſeparated from that of the other. So that to diſcuſs both ſides of this queſtion, is to conſider whether a provincial ſubjection to England, or a total independence, would be moſt conducive to the happineſs of Ireland. The example of the Seven United Provinces, and of America, ſuggeſted in the Secretary's pamphlet, with what they ſuffered, and what they dared, and how they proſpered, equally obtrude themſelves upon the judgment, while it deliberates upon this ſubject; but theſe, and many other arguments applicable to it, cannot, in the preſent ſtate of the Iriſh Preſs, be freely urged. Like the abſent ſtatues of Brutus and Caſſius, at the obſequies of Junia, they muſt, however, impreſs the mind the more forcibly, for being unavoidably kept out of ſight. Vigenti clariſſimarum familiarum imagines antelatæ ſunt, Manlii, Quinetii, aliaque ejuſdem nobilitatis nomina: *Sed præfulgebant Caſſius atque Brutus, eo ipſo quod effiges eorum non viſebantur.* (Annal. lib. III. ſub finem.)

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The calumniated advocates of reform, are no leſs the friends of their country's liberty, than of its peace; and their adverſaries, who are alſo the promoters of the Union, by ſacrificing the one, continually endanger the other; for an Union will leave Iriſhmen no effectual channel of redreſs, but force, and reduce us to the neceſſity of implicit ſubmiſſion, or the laſt and awful refuge of the oppreſſed—putting the ſword in room of the pen, and inſurrection inſtead of reſolutions. A free Parliament, ſuch as the friends of reform have endeavoured to obtain, would be, to a nation, what the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice is, with regard to perſons; it would prevent the neceſſity of ſelf-interference, and ſubſtitute the reaſon, in place of the arms of ſociety. But when reform is rendered not ſimply more difficult, but next to impoſſible, as muſt be the caſe with the only remaining Parliament, when it is deluged with an influx of ſtrangers, connected with little elſe there beſides the Miniſter, and that the controul of public opinion, which ſometimes operates over thoſe whom power cannot reach, will totally ceaſe to affect the pretended Iriſh repreſentatives, removed by the Union out of the ſphere of its influence; what tribunal will there remain in Ireland, before which to carry the grievances of the people?—Indeed the bare propoſal, but ſtill more the conſummation of an Union, will fully juſtify thoſe men, who turned their weary footſteps, their baffled hopes, and diſguſted honeſty, from the threſhold of Parliament. It will be ſeen, they only thought of it a little ſooner, as the world muſt think of it after an Union, that it felt not for the people, and deſerved not their confidence, which could ſeize the diſtractions of an unhappy hour, to barter away as far as it may do ſo, their liberties and welfare, the nation's pride, and every bleſſing which may naturally deſcend to an independent country.

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To reduce imperial Ireland to a province! What is treaſon, if ſuch can be the nature of patriotiſm? Of this their ſharpeſt enemies cannot accuſe the United Iriſhmen, that they would ſubmit their country a province to any people under Heaven. The very head and front of their offending, is a wiſh to withdraw it, like the United States of America, from the bleſſings of Britiſh connection, to ſtand a ſelf-exiſting Republic. I do not intend to ſcan their conduct. But at a time that every principle of moral and political duty enjoins forgiveneſs and oblivion of injuries, the claſſic ſcholar will not feel his philanthropy diminiſh, by recollecting how his youthful boſom beat high with enthuſiaſm, at the ſacred enterprizes of Thraſybulus and Dion; with what generous and heart-felt intereſt he beheld the firſt William, in unconquerable perſeverance and diſintereſted patriotiſm, lay the foundation of the liberties and proſperity of Holland; and how often he has ſince exulted in the ſucceſsful invaſion of his illuſtrious ſucceſſor, who may juſtly be called the glorious Deliverer, ſince he was deſtined by Providence to liberate a nation from civil and religious tyranny. It cannot but be painful to a good mind, to condemn even with juſtice, any deſcription of that great family, of which he is but one as an Iriſhman; but to forgive and to forget, is not leſs generous than equitable, when the ſucceſsful has certainly not been the leaſt guilty party. Unleſs we are doomed to be eternally blinded to our intereſts, by our animoſities, the uſe that is attempted to be made of the latter upon the preſent important queſtion, ſhould reconcile us to one another. With concern have I ſeen a Catholic Barriſter, in a publication where he appears to leſs advantage than he did formerly in others in a better cauſe, attempting to lead the Catholics to approve of the Union, through enmity to the Orangemen; while the latter are prompted to the ſame diſaſtrous meaſure, by their hatred

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tred of the Catholics. It is certain that no proceeding could better promote the views of thoſe perſons who are deſirous to ſtrip this country of independence, and hand her over to Mr. Pitt, to bear the taxes and impoſitions of his government. Violent as we have witneſſed this ſpirit of religious rancour, it is foreign to the country it has ſo much ravaged—it is fed like the yellow fever, by an extraneous contagion. Let us behold in it, thoſe foes to our independence, who acknowledge that Ireland is growing too ſtrong to be governed, and who fomented our domeſtic animoſities, not this year only, but for ages. The crime is in the firſt inſtigation, more than in the vengeance of an unhappy mortal goaded to madneſs and deſpair; and to retaliation alone do I charge, upon the beſt grounds, the acts of deſperate outrage that were committed in ſome of the diſturbed diſtricts, as I do the aggreſſion in its cauſe, to the ſame power which put in motion the Grand Juries, uſing the infatuated inſtruments of its abandoned policy, perhaps for the very purpoſes of the Union. Why has the life of no Quaker been attacked in the county of Wexford, and why were depredations committed in Connaught, upon the property of Catholics as well as Proteſtants, but becauſe the moral and humane Quaker did not defile his hands to torture and maſſacre his fellow-creature; and becauſe in the other caſe, religion was as little a protection as a provocation. I have heard from ſuch authority as I cannot doubt, that Proteſtants, who had not ſignalized themſelves by acts of cruelty, were as unmoleſted in the Weſt as any other men; and that where the people appointed committees, they choſe Proteſtants indiſcriminately with Catholics, giving no other preference, but what they thought was due to principle.

The project of an Union was long a matter of earneſt ſolicitude and contemplation; but Ireland was

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not thought sufficiently divided, or frantic enough to receive it until now. The Orange barbarities were fomented with a view to ripen this catastrophe; but let me not sully my page with party appellations, and fall into the snare of our enemies. The faction of Borough-mongers, and the whole firm of monopoly, were roused upon the very irritable principle of self-interest, to restrain the liberties of the country, in resisting emancipation and reform. In proportion as good sense and true Irish policy, were making proselytes to both these valuable measures, a more active regimen of dissension, was resorted to by the common enemy, in order that when one party was thoroughly committed with the other, and reconciliation desperate, they might fling away the hopes of independence and prosperity, to seek common vengeance in common ruin. Who does not perceive the same hostile power which fomented our unhappy disputes, seeking to reap the harvest of its profligate intrigues, when it presumes to think that our resentments and folly have so degraded us, as to look for reciprocal satisfaction, in mutual annihilation? But, countrymen! let this infamous attack rally you round the standard of independence. In spite of your dissensions, you are still children of the same parent. The verieſt Orangeman among you, need but go to England, and the Irish stranger will be taught, by the contumely with which he is received, that he belongs to another country; and will you then cast away all which gives that country rank, and retain of Ireland nothing but her brogue? O let one wise and generous act of patriotism, bury your nonsensical quarrels in oblivion. Learn from this odious conspiracy against your independence, that if you have been indulged in the monstrous facility of cutting each other's throats, it was in order to resume that dominion over your properties and trade, which was once reluctantly yielded to your *unanimity* and spirit; but above all, let me conjure you, Catholics,

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tholics, and you who are advocates of reform, and lovers of liberty, give no countenance to an incorporating Union. If thoſe men, who poſſeſs more effectual means of defeating it, ſhall act with the deciſion and vigour which become perſons in their ſituation, ſign upon the holy altar of national independence, an amneſty for your reſpective errors, and confirm it by an irrevocable oath, that you ſhall deem thoſe alone your enemies, who are at war with the liberties of your country. So ſhall you give to mankind a glorious example of magnanimous wiſdom—you will ſtrengthen the bonds of confidence, lay the foundation of greater harmony, and repel diſhonour and deſtruction from your native land.

Thus alone, countrymen! ſhall you be able to defeat the inſidious project of an incorporating Union, the empirical expedient of a deſperate and flagitious Miniſtry, driven by the progreſſive increaſe of their libericide and ſanguinary acts, to a height of difficulties, where they are unable to continue, and from which their guilty and recreant hearts tremble to recede. They have exhauſted terror, they have deluged the earth with blood, and they foreſee, and ſhudder at the refluent tide of vengeance and of juſtice. Alike afraid to go back, or to go over, they graſp at the intermediate device of annihilating the independence of a nation, which they are incompetent to govern, and unwilling to reſign into other hands. They baſely hope to preſerve their rank, in the ſhadowy ſemblance of authority with which they take refuge in another country, but whither they ſhall carry nothing ſo real as their crimes, and the maledictions of the Iriſh people. The calamities they provoked, prove their unfitneſs for their ſtations. They diſputed with the principles of Liberty, until they rooted them deep in the ſoil, and moiſtened them with the blood of the people. Theſe are now

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doubly dear, as well for their own ſakes, as for the friends, and brothers, and parents they have coſt us. The enemies of theſe principles, conſcious that in every conteſt brought to the ſame iſſue, there can be no compromiſe, but that Liberty or Deſpotiſm muſt remain ſole poſſeſſor of the field, ſeek to protract the exerciſe of unconſtitutional power, by baniſhing from this country all claim to a free Parliament, and rendering a reform hereafter impoſſible in the United Parliament of luxurious and degenerate England. But when the corruption of two bodies unites in one, the odium againſt their vices muſt accumulate there alſo. As for us, a military may be ſubſtituted for a civil government, and courts-martial made ordinary, inſtead of the uſual tribunals; the militia of both countries may be exchanged, that both may more readily be coerced by alien bands of unrelenting mercenaries; more taxes raiſed, and the ſavings from Iriſh corruption, appropriated to the Engliſh creditor; but all theſe expedients, ſo far from reſtraining the free and adventurous mind, muſt fill it with ſtronger, and yet ſtronger indignation. They never can reconcile to their grievances, men whoſe hearts glow with the love of their country, and whoſe firm ſouls can embrace a magnanimous reſolution. We may yet ſee a bolder ſpirit ariſe than that of 82, and the freedom of the Iriſh Legiſlature again aſſerted, and the frame of the Iriſh Conſtitution again laid down, but never more upon the contracted ſite of rotten boroughs, and uſurped repreſentation. The Union is, however, in vain objected to by thoſe wretched bigots and ſenſeleſs politicians, who would heſitate at reform. The enemies of Iriſh Liberty ſee the alternative of annihilating or reforming the Parliament, and better it is that they ſhould be coaleſced with, than oppoſed by the ſlaviſh advocates of a Conſtitution of boroughs, of peculation, and of partiality.

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partiality. Let such narrow-minded and selfish opponents, resign themselves to the foreign supremacy of Great Britain. They deserve not to consort with freemen; they deserve not that liberty for themselves, which they are unwilling to communicate to all their countrymen, and which they have not sufficient wisdom or magnanimity to place upon a wide and national basis. It is in the generous nature of Irishmen, to pass a noble amnesty for past errors, upon the just principle of warding off an evil from all, that all may enjoy together the independence they defend; and it is only on the presumption of existing divisions, that this blow is aimed at the whole Irish nation, by an extraneous power, that supports no party, but with a view to its own dominion; the machinations of our enemies will, I trust, be turned to their own confusion, and my beloved countrymen at last convinced, that to be cordially united to each other, is the only shield of safety and of freedom.

FINIS.

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SUBSTANCE

OF THE

SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD SHEFFIELD,

Monday, April 22, 1799.

UPON THE SUBJECT OF

UNION WITH IRELAND.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JOHN EXSHAW, 98, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

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SUBSTANCE

OF THE

SPEECH

OF

LORD SHEFFIELD,

April 22, 1799.

&c. &c.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for taking into conſideration the Addreſs from the Lords upon the ſubject of the Union with Ireland; which being read, he moved that the ſaid Addreſs be now taken into conſideration.

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The Addreſs was then read twice, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, That this Houſe do concur with the ſaid Addreſs.

Lord SHEFFIELD ſpoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

Sir, I wiſh it to be underſtood, that I ſupport the reſolutions and addreſs, in confidence that the aſſurance given by a noble Lord in an official ſituation in Ireland will be ſtrictly obſerved, namely, that Miniſters will *look to the ſenſe of Parliament and of the Country*, before the meaſure of Union ſhall again be brought forward there; and that aſſurance being given, I am not ſenſible of any ſufficient argument that ſhould prevent the Britiſh Parliament from giving ſome general explanation of the arrangement it is diſpoſed to make, more eſpecially

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as I obſerve that ſcarcely any man in this country objects to the principle of the meaſure; nor can I ſuppoſe, that a nation ſo well informed and ſo much accuſtomed to political conſiderations as the Iriſh, ſhould for a long time perſevere in refuſing to receive or examine what may be propoſed from the Britiſh Parliament; and for theſe reaſons I wiſh to trouble the Houſe with a few obſervations.

We cannot be much ſurprized at the alarm which has taken place in Ireland. The word Union was ſuffered to be banded about there for many months without the ſlighteſt attempt on the part of the Miniſters to explain the terms of it. The aid of deſigning men, and of thoſe prejudiced from partial and local conſiderations, was ſcarcely neceſſary to take advantage of this circumſtance: the apprehenſions of Ireland

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had always been, that an equal and favourable Union would not be granted: and no ſmall part of that people were made to believe, that their liberty, their independance, their dignity, and almoſt the exiſtence of the nation, would be done away by their becoming one and the ſame with the moſt independant and moſt reſpectable nation in the world.

But, in truth, the meaſure of Union was ill-prepared for Ireland, and Ireland was ill-prepared for Union. It is not without competent information that I am convinced, if the outline of the liberal propoſition for Union, which is now offered, had been at firſt properly communicated and with all the plainneſs and candour which ſuit the Iriſh character, it would have been very differently received; and it is not my opinion alone, but the opinion alſo of thoſe

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who are not friendly to the meaſure, that it might have been accepted, at leaſt it would have prevented all that miſrepreſentation and miſapprehenſion which might well be expected, without ſome previous attention. I can hardly imagine a caſe, in reſpect to which, until underſtood, more jealouſy was likely to be entertained than this of a legiſlative Union; otherwiſe the meaſure being really ſo neceſſary and ſo advantageous to Ireland, the ſtrange abuſe of the words "Dignity and Independance," which have been ſo entirely miſtaken there, would have made little impreſſion. I can ſuppoſe it will be unpleaſing at firſt to acknowledge, that the premature oppoſition was the reſult of an ill-founded jealouſy. Yet that acknowledgment, and the conſequent departure from an *haſty* oppoſition to the meaſure, is no more than may be fairly expected from the candid openneſs of the Iriſh character.

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It is not now the queſtion whether the meaſure has been brought forward and conducted as it ſhould have been, but whether the Britiſh Parliament ſhould do what depends on it to obviate the miſchief which muſt ariſe from independent and ſeparate Legiſlatures exiſting within the ſame empire, whether we ſhould relinquiſh a meaſure which ſeems neceſſary to the general ſecurity and welfare, or take the preſent opportunity of ſtating the outline of it,

I ſhall not trouble the Houſe with a repetition of hiſtorical inquiry into the cauſes of the preſent ſtate of Ireland, nor with many references to the reports of the Lords and Commons of that kingdom. The cauſes and the proofs are but too plain. The notoriety of numberleſs melancholy facts, which demonſtrate the wretched and dangerous condition of that country, with reaſon

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alarms every thinking man: it is an unanimous opinion in this country, that ſomething is neceſſary to be done to preſerve Ireland; and there ſeems to be almoſt a general conviction, that it can be done only by a legiſlative Union.

For my part, I cannot ſee the meaſure in any other light than that of being abſolutely neceſſary. It has long been my opinion, and every thing which has happened *in* Ireland, and in reſpect to Ireland durin the laſt twenty years, particularly that which took place in 1782, and was whimſically enough called "Final Adjuſtment," have convinced me of that neceſſity.

When it was found proper to take off the ſhackles from the Iriſh Parliament, and highly proper it was, a Union ſhould have been propoſed, and by the ſame meaſure

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only ſhould all the commercial and other advantages have been communicated, which were ſo indiſcriminately conceded without terms ſince 1778. It would have been ſtill better, if an Union had taken place in the beginning of the century, and that the Conſtitution and Commerce of Great Britain, which had been ſo long and ſo invidiouſly withheld, had been then communicated to Ireland. But in 1782, the adminiſtration of that day, without ſupplying any means of keeping theſe kingdoms together, raſhly gave away the dependance of the two iſlands on each other; and now there is no certainty in the connexion of Great Britain and Ireland. Independance of Legiſlature ſeems to have ſuggeſted notions of ſeparation, which appeared, in ſome degree, as early as 1784. However, even thoſe who attempt to juſtify what was done in 1782, muſt acknowledge, that

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there were points of eſſential conſequence left unſettled, and that it ſhould not have been poſtponed to the hour of difficulty and diſtreſs to arrange and aſcertain the relative exertions and political connexions of the two countries.

Much has been ſaid on the words "Final Adjuſtment:" but that which is ſo called, only referred to the then aſſerted independence of Parliament, and by no means precluded Union: on the contrary, it was the opinion at the time, that *further* meaſures were neceſſary to eſtabliſh a connexion on a ſolid permanent baſis: and ſo far as I underſtand what was intended, I conſider *that* adjuſtment as putting the Iriſh Parliament on the footing of independence and free deliberation, and in that ſituation alone which could ſatisfy the people of Ireland, that the acts of their

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Parliament would be thenceforward free and uncontrouled; but at any rate it is trifling to ſuppoſe, that nothing more was to be attempted, if that which had been done had not the effect of preſerving the connexion and attachment of the two countries. It is true that Union became more neceſſary, as well as more difficult, in conſequence of what was done in 1782, and alſo in 1793, when the principle of our navigation and colonial laws were, without terms or occaſion, ſacrificed by the act which permits goods and commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture, of Aſia, Africa, or America, to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain. All theſe benefits ſhould have been reſerved as the means of Union, but being then unconditionally granted, they have rendered that meaſure much leſs ſought for by Ireland; and I confeſs that the ſtrongeſt objection I felt to the propo-

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ſitions that were brought forward in the Britiſh Parliament in 1785, (which by no means would have done what it is neceſſary to do,) aroſe from the apprehenſion, that if carried, they might prevent an Union. It was obvious, that if all the reſerved advantages of Great Britain were to be given up, there would be no means of future negotiation remaining.

Previouſly to that period, Ireland would have petitioned for an Union, and I think ſhe might well do ſo now, as the greateſt poſſible acquiſition ſhe could make; but neither the adjuſtment in queſtion, nor all the commercial conceſſions, nor other means employed to tranquillize that country, have had the leaſt effect. The bad ſtate of Ireland yearly became worſe. It appears the parties are not to be ſatisfied; that no melioration of the condition of

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Ireland has taken place; that a great proportion of the people is now as ill disposed to Government, as bigoted, as ignorant, and as uncivilized as they were at the time of the massacre in 1641. At present the permanency of the connexion of Great Britain with Ireland depends on the parties which exist, and ever must exist, in a nation of Protestants and Roman Catholics so peculiarly interested against, and politically hostile to, each other. These divisions are the bane of the country, never to be annihilated but by a legislative Union. The whole present system is bad. The change of Government, at least every four years, and the concessions so regularly made under the vain notion of satisfying the people, create and promote schemes and suggestions inconsistent with the tranquillity of the country, and encourage

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agitators, whose uniform object it is, to disturb the public mind.

I have observed, that independence of Parliament suggested the idea of separation. Irrational notions of independence, leading to dissolution of Government, must end in civil war and the introduction of the French. Manufactures and agriculture would then cease much more suddenly than they could possibly revive; and whatever might be the event, Ireland would be completely ruined, and England greatly distressed. But supposing the crisis in question should not immediately come on, Ireland would continue in its present disturbed state, and England would ever find Ireland the back-door to conspiracy, rebellion, and invasion. And so miserably distracted is Ireland at present, that among three millions of Roman Catholics, and

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half a million of Diſſenters, there is ſcarcely a man capable of a political idea, who does not wiſh for ſomething different from that which is; namely, a Change of the Church Eſtabliſhment, the Abolition of Tithes, a Parliamentary Reform, or a Republic: nor are the members of the eſtabliſhed Church entirely free from the ſame unhappy temper of mind. The common Enemies of mankind will not fail to take advantage of this ſtate of things; they have raiſed it into a dangerous and formidable conſpiracy, and it ſeems the only means through which they can hope of ſucceeding in their favourite plan of deſtroying the Britiſh empire.

Nothing can be more dangerous than a notion, that a coalition of Churchmen, Diſſenters, and Catholics, for the purpoſe of ſeparation, cannot take place.

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The reports of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, and what has happened lately, completely prove, that ſuch a coalition is not merely poſſible, but that it actually exiſts, and that the foundations of it are laid, and deeply laid, already.

This ſubject has been ſo fully and ſo ably diſcuſſed, that it is not neceſſary to ſtate how general, how great, and how irremediable by common means, are the miſchief and danger: the unexampled perilous ſtate of Ireland is well known: it was therefore evidently the duty of his Majeſty's Miniſters to bring forward ſome meaſure to prevent even the poſſibility of ſo great a calamity as the ſeparation of the two countries; and however I may differ in opinion with His Majeſty's Miniſters in reſpect to the conduct of this buſineſs, I acknowledge great merit in

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their undertaking ſuch an arduous taſk at a time they were ſo fully engaged in the moſt momentous concerns, and they have not ſhrunk from the difficulties which obviouſly might preſent themſelves, and which too often induce Miniſters to adopt ſome temporary expedient (juſt to ſerve their turn) which never effectually ſucceeds, but in the end produces greater difficulty and much miſchief. It ſeems alſo highly incumbent on the Britiſh Parliament to take early the moſt effectual ſteps to promote the proper remedy: and every thing has been tried, except that which is now obviouſly the beſt and only means, an Union, and which, in conſequence of the wild opinions that are abroad, and the diſturbed ſtate of the world, has become ſtill more neceſſary. Every conceſſion has been made, many colonial and commercial advantages, which Ireland could not on

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any reaſonable ground claim without an Union, have been communicated to her: in ſhort, every thing has been granted ſo far, that we are now told by the enemies of Union, Ireland cannot acquire more by that meaſure, and that ſhe does not deſire greater freedom and extenſion of trade, than ſhe at preſent poſſeſſes, preferring her independence and dignity as a nation. They ſurely have odd notions of independence and dignity, who prefer holding almoſt the whole of their trade, almoſt their exiſtence, at the diſcretion of another country, rather than by *right* as a part of that country.

But I ſhould not do juſtice if I did not acknowledge this way of thinking is by no means general, and that the two largeſt counties, Cork and Galway, and the city of Cork, county of Clare, and other diſtricts of Ireland, had expreſſed the con-

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trary, and ſo well, that I wiſh to make uſe of their own words. Speaking of Union, the county of Cork ſays:

County of Cork. } We are firmly perſuaded it would add to the welfare, the credit, and the immediate proſperity of Ireland, and that by the uniting our ſtrength in the cloſeſt manner with the moſt free, and moſt happy people on earth, we ſhould exert the boſt poſſible means in our power for preſerving the ſafety. the honour, and the ſecurity of our deareſt rights. Determined, therefore, as we are to ſtand or fall with Great Britain, we look forward with the greateſt anxiety to this connexion, as the moſt effectual means of putting an end to all our factions and religious animoſities, and of reconciling the people of Ireland to each other, by doing away all ill-founded jealouſies between fellow-ſubjects.

We conſider it as moſt obviouſly and indiſpenſably neceſſary to the proſperity of this kingdom in general, and to the reſtoration of that tranquillity and induſtry, which alone can render the inhabitant proſperous and happy, and moſt likely in its conſequences to reclaim the deluded people, from thoſe habits of violence and outrage, to a ſenſe of their duty to the laws of their country, and the beſt of Kings.

City of Cork. } To become a conſtituent part of that empire, to whoſe protection we owe our political exiſtence, and whoſe Conſtitution is the admiration of the civilized world: to participate in thoſe reſources, which are inexhauſtible: to become joint

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proprietors of that navy, which is irreſiſtible, and to ſhare in that commerce which knows no bounds, are objects beyond which our moſt ſanguine wiſhes for the proſperity of Ireland cannot poſſibly extend: while the proſpect, which they hold forth of terminating the jarring intereſts of party, and reconciling the jealous diſtinctions of religion, promiſes, a reſtoration of that tranquillity to which this country has been too long a ſtranger.

County of Galway. { We are perſuaded, that a legiſlative Union with Great Britain, eſtabliſhed on terms of perfect equality, would invigorate the reſources, increaſe the wealth, and add materially to the ſecurity of both countries, enabling them to oppoſe their common enemy with increaſed ſtrength and power, and moſt effectually to defeat their object of dividing the empire for the purpoſe of ſubduing it. To conſider this meaſure as it affects either country ſeparately, we conceive to be a narrow view of its object: but even in that confined ſenſe of it, we are firmly convinced it would add to the welfare, the credit, and the immediate proſperity of Ireland; and we are of opinion, that uniting our ſtrength in the cloſeſt manner with the wiſeſt, the freeſt, and the happieſt people upon earth, with whom we muſt neceſſarily ſtand or fall, is ſo far from a ſacrifice of the honour and independence of Ireland, that it is the beſt means left to us for preſerving both.

Theſe addreſſes are moſt reſpectably ſigned; and a third addreſs from the

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county of Cork, nearly in the ſame words, has the ſignature of 373 of the principal Nobility, Biſhops, Magiſtrates, Clergy, and perſons of property, both Proteſtants and Catholics: and there is reaſon to believe, that the ſentiments therein expreſſed are much more general in the ſeveral counties which have not addreſſed, than has been ſuppoſed.

Although Ireland has acquired much which ſhould only haye been conceded by Union, it is not true that ſhe cannot obtain farther commercial advantages by that meaſure. The beſt market, that of Great Britain, for all Iriſh manufactures, is ſtill reſerved, except linens, and her linens are become one of the greateſt manufactures in the world, entirely in conſequence of having that market, and could never have been carried on to its preſent great extent,

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unleſs aided by the prompt payment of Great Britain, which in a great degree acts as a ſupply of capital *.

Six parts in ſeven of the whole exports of linen from Ireland are imported into Great Britain, and of the ſeventh part the

* The bounties on the export of Iriſh linens from hence at the ſame time that they give to Great Britain about an eight of the trade in thoſe articles, encourage the manufacture in Ireland. The average of bouties on the export of linens for the laſt four years is nearly 34,700l.

Iriſh linens exported from Great Britain on an average of the laſt four years, entitled to bounty - - - - - - - - 4,866,015 Yards

Ditto not entitled to bounty - - - - 964,507

Total of Iriſh linens exported from Great Britain - - - - - - - - - - 5,830,522

The duties laid on the import of foreign linens for the purpoſe of protecting the Britiſh linen manufacture are about 25 per cent. of their real value, and give almoſt the monopoly of the Britiſh market to many articles of the Iriſh linen manufacture. The duties paid on foreign linen uſed in this country, on the ſame average, amount to 115,000. If the ſame rate of duties had been laid on Iriſh linens imported and uſed in this iſland under the uſual policy of protecting the Britiſh manufacture, as is done in all like caſes, it would raiſe a revenue of about 650,000l.

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greateſt proportion goes to America, including the Weſt Indies. On an average of four years, ending the 25th of March 1798,

	Yards
were exported from Ireland	39,885,776
of which to Great Britain -	33,695,659
To the Britiſh Colonies in America and Iſlands in the Weſt Indies * - - - -	1,285,998
To the States of America - -	4,012,519
To foreign parts of Europe and to Africa - - - - -	891,530,

being about a 44th part of the whole export of Linens from Ireland,

Linens are the only Iriſh manufacture, properly ſo called, which has the advantage of the Britiſh market, and it has flouriſhed accordingly. No manufacture, no trade of Ireland, except ſuch as are duty

* In this are not included Iriſh linens exported from Great Britain to the Britiſh Colonies and to the American States, but only the quantities ſent directly from Ireland to the places mentioned.

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free, or have particular advantages in the Britiſh market, have ſucceeded. Linens, corn, and the produce of cattle, which alone have thoſe advantages, amount on an average of the laſt three years to 5,410,825
when the total value of all Iriſh imports into Great Britain were 5,612,689
of which there were articles not the manufacture and produce of Ireland to the amount of - - - - - - - - - 101,864

So that the articles of Iriſh growth or manufacture, which are not duty free, or have no particular exemption or advantage in Britiſh ports, amount only to - - - - - - - 100,781
and form a ſmall proportion, indeed, of the great importation from Ireland into Great Britain alone amounting to 5,612,689, which, ſtated in the manner moſt favourable to Ireland, is, at leaſt, ſix parts in ſeven

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of the whole export trade of Ireland to all parts.

We cannot be ſurprized, that woollen and other manufactures have decreaſed in Ireland during the late turbulent ſtate of that country. We may rather wonder, that they have not been more affected: but ſuch articles as have the peculiar advantage of the Britiſh market, have even lately increaſed. The manufactures and commerce of Ireland are now, and have always been, greatly inferior to what they may be; it is reaſonable therefore to ſuppoſe, that when the preſent prohibitory duties which were laid on manufactures coming from all parts to protect thoſe of England, are, in reſpect to Iriſh manufactures, equalized, as intended by the articles of Union, and they ſhall have the advantage of the Britiſh market the ſame as linens; the produce of cattle and corn, they may alſo flouriſh.

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No country is better circumſtanced for manufactures than Ireland. She has plenty of water and fuel*, the firſt requiſites in

* Moſt parts of Ireland, where, through want of ſkill and wealth, coals have not yet been raiſed, particularly the manufacturing diſtricts, are acceſſible by water and near the coaſts of England and Wales, which abound in coals. Ireland may have that article cheaper from the Weſt and North-Weſt of England and from Wales, than it can go coaſtwiſe to many places in Great Britain where great manufactories are carried on which conſume large quantities of that article. Coals from Great Britain to Ireland pay only an export duty of 14d. per chaldron, when the ſame article carried coaſtwiſe to London pays a duty of 9s. 3d. per chaldron, and to any other part of England 5s. 9d. If Ireland does not think it neceſſary to protect her own collieries by any import duty, ſhe may cheapen the price of coals to her manufacturers by taking off the duty of 1s 9½d. per ton on the import of that article into Dublin, and of 9½d. into all other parts of Ireland. The paſſage from the Engliſh collieries is ſhort, and the freight is moderate. And it may be obſerved, that inferior ſorts of coal anſwer the purpoſe of manufacture, and that the bogs of Ireland furniſh plenty of excellent peat or turf.

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manufactures. The encouragement to her induſtry will be great, eſpecially as it will be impoſſible to countervail the difference of price of labour and of exciſes in the two countries*, and commercial men will acknowledge the ſuperior advantage of a near market, and a quick return, ſo abſolutely neceſſary to a country wanting capital.

If Union ſhould take place, there will be no jealouſy, no warfare of bounties and drawbacks, no invidious wiſh to check the proſperity of Ireland, or any manufacture there, and the great commercial advantages of Ireland will no longer be held at the pleaſure of another country.

* Import duties in the two countries may be equalized, or the difference of thoſe duties on raw materials may be paid on import of the article or manufacture, of which it is made.

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The proſperity of Ireland, ſuch as it is, in no degree aroſe from the independency of the Iriſh Parliament, but from commercial advantages derived from Great-Britain. I heſitated when I firſt heard that a contrary aſſertion came from a man as able, as reſpectable, and, at leaſt, as well informed, as any in the two iſlands; but the aſſertion that the proſperity of Ireland aroſe from the independence of her Parliament, appears to me ſo entirely unſupported by fact, that I ſcarcely know how to reaſon about it, except by aſking, whether the increaſe of the linen manufacture; whether the proſperity of the beef, pork, and butter-trade; whether the growth of a grain of corn, or of a blade of graſs; whether the opening of the ports of Great Britain to Iriſh corn at a lower price than from other countries, have been effected by the independence of the Iriſh Parliament: in ſhort, which article

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of growth or export has increaſed in conſequence of it? Have the laws been better executed? Has the country been more tranquil? Are life and property more ſafe? In truth, I can trace little to that event but the preſent diſturbed ſtate of Ireland. I repeat, that the proſperity of Ireland entirely depends on the connexion with and advantages derived from Great Britain, without which her trade would be almoſt nothing; and this appears ſo perfectly evident, that I conſider it not to be neceſſary to add a ſyllable more to prove it.

When Ireland has acquired the Britiſh Conſtitution, a due execution of laws and tranquillity, and that life and property are ſecure there, Engliſh capitals will undoubtedly be employed in Ireland, and her proſperity will be real and permanent.

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At prefent no prudent man will lend one ſhilling to that country in any ſhape, far leſs will a commercial or manufacturing man riſk his capital in any ſpeculation, where a ſpirit of unfriendly independence, of ſeparation and of rebellion ſo ſtrongly prevails; but ſurely it is not commercial advantage and wealth only that are wanting to Ireland. She is deficient in the moſt eſſential of all things, good order and well-executed laws. Life and property are not more ſecure there, than among the moſt diſturbed people upon earth. A reſidence there is as much to be avoided as in countries ſubject to the moſt hideous tyranny or ſavage banditti.

It is curious, eſpecially at this time, that apprehenſions are expreſſed that the number of abſentees will be greatly increaſed by an Union. There are now infinitely a greater number of Iriſh emigrants, for the

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ſake of perſonal ſafety, than will be occaſioned if Union ſhould be adopted. If that meaſure ſhould take place, few families will follow thoſe who are called to Parliament: if they make the experiment, the difference of expence will ſoon check the evil: and thoſe that occaſionally become abſentees, will be ſo by choice, not by compulſion.

It will not be improper in this place to ſtate, with the view of removing wrong impreſſions, that the number and property of abſentees have been always greatly exaggerated, and alſo the bad effects of the conſequent drain of money.

Thoſe who are moſt capable of examining the queſtion agree, that the remittance to regular abſentees is below 600,000l., I believe conſiderably, which is not more than one fifth of the value of the exports of

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linens alone to this country, amounting to, at leaſt, three millions. According to the common valuation, it may not always appear ſo much, becauſe they are rated, at moſt, at 1s. 6d. per yard, even now that their quality is much improved; but if valued at only 19d., linen and linen yarn will, on an average of the laſt three years, amount to a larger ſum than I have mentioned, and more than balance all the imports of Great Britain; including raw materials, as well as remittances to abſentees. The imports of the products and manufacture of Ireland into Great Britain on an average of the laſt three years, being - - - - - - - - - 5,510,825

and all imports of the produce or manufacture of Great Britain into Ireland - - - - - 2,087,672

3,425,153

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So that there is a balance of upwards of 2,800,000 l. in favour of Ireland, allowing an actual remittance of 600,000 l. to abſentees.

The above is the ſtatement of the interchange of produce and manufacture. Beſides which, Ireland imports from Great Britain at preſent, in conſequence of her being obliged to avail herſelf of Britiſh capital, and of her limited commerce, except with Great Britain,

Of colonial articles - - -	970,000
Of foreign merchandize - -	498,173
	1,468,173
And England receives from Ireland of colonial and foreign merchandize - - -	101,874
which gives a balance to England on foreign and colonial importation of - - - -	1,366,309

and if deducted from the above balance of

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2,800,000, will ſtill on the whole, ſtating the trade and remittances in the moſt favourable manner for Ireland, leave a balance of 1,433,691l. in favour of the latter country.

It ſhould be obſerved, that while the imports of the produce and manufacture of Ireland into Great Britain are in a progreſſive ſtate of certain increaſe, on the other hand, the imports of foreign and colonial articles from Great Britain into Ireland are in a courſe of decreaſe; but I proceed to conſiderations of more conſequence to both countries.

I am little diſpoſed to argue in favour of non-reſidence, but I muſt obſerve, that thoſe parts of Ireland, as well as of England, where manufactures flouriſh, are remarkable for the non-reſidence of land-proprietors. Yet, in general, I conſider

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their abſence as the greateſt misfortune, and I conceive one of the moſt eſſential advantages of England over Ireland ariſes from the reſidence of that claſs of men, and from their great attention to the people, and to all the details of the country round them. To another circumſtance very different from the cuſtom of England, much of the unimproved ſtate of Ireland may be attributed. The intermediate man, a perſon between the owner and occupier, who holds land from the reſident as well as from the abſentee, has no permanent intereſt in the improvement of it. His income depends on the exaction of the utmoſt that can be got from an under tenant. But we cannot be ſurprized, that men of fortune in Ireland ſhould now reſide in villas near the metropolis, or abſent themſelves, when we recollect the uncivilized ſtate of the country. At preſent it cannot be expected from them, nor is it ſafe; and

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unleſs ſome great change ſhould happen, which will induce and enable men of fortune to live there, and to inſtruct, protect, and encourage the people, civilization will go on very ſlowly.

All the ſame objections which are urged in Ireland againſt an Union, were made by Scotland at the time of her Union with England, and every miſchief was predicted; but they all proved unfounded. Arguments, which came from ſome of the ableſt men of thoſe times, and which then appeared almoſt concluſive, are completely refuted by experience. It was ſaid, that Edinburgh would be deſerted and ruined: the ſame is now ſaid of Dublin: but ſince Union, the ſize of Edinburgh, and the number of her inhabitants, have been more than doubled, and the city beautified in a high degree. All Scotland is greatly improved, her population increaſed, ſhe is

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ten times more rich ſince that period: her people are civilized, the laws are now executed, life and property are ſecure; the Legiſlatures of the two kingdoms no longer at variance as heretofore, and at the riſk of rupture each counteracting the other. Few families of property are now conſtantly abſentees; and almoſt without exception, thoſe Scotchmen, who go from home and acquire a fortune, in the end carry it to Scotland. Before the Union, Scotland had ſcarcely any thing worthy the name of a manufacture: all her efforts to obtain a foreign or colonial trade had failed, but now her manufactures and trade are as great in proportion as thoſe of England. And all theſe advantages are greatly beyond the progreſſive improvement which would have taken place without an Union, and without which many of them never could have taken place.

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The alarm in the city of Dublin on the ſubject of Union is ſaid to be greater and more juſt than elſewhere, but I am perfectly ſatisfied that her apprehenſions are unfounded. The abſence of 80 Commoners and 30 Lords, even ſuppoſing them conſtantly reſident before, certainly cannot ruin Dublin. The Lord Lieutenant, the principal officers of every kind, the Courts of Juſtice will ſtill remain. She will ſtill continue the Winter reſidence of the principal people of fortune, as Edinburgh does. She will be the ſeat of education, of amuſement, and of the arts. Her trade will increaſe greatly. The complete intercourſe and exchange of commodities which will be eſtabliſhed by an Union, will raiſe her commerce beyond what the moſt ſanguine man has ever yet imagined. Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, will have a great proportion of the proviſion and other trade; but Dublin will be the great mart for the

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import and export, particularly of manufactures. Dublin will have the great trade to the moſt thriving port, perhaps, in the world; I mean Liverpool. The trade of Ireland with England will be carried on with moſt ſecurity, eſpecially in time of war, between thoſe ports. Every article of foreign and Britiſh manufacture and produce, which Ireland does not furniſh or import immediately from the place of growth or of manufacture, ſhe may have from thence. Almoſt all the widely-extended inland navigation of England points to Liverpool, and may ſupply what is wanted to advantage. As Ireland imports but a ſmall proportion of her conſumption of Weſt-India articles directly from the place of growth, Dublin is well ſituated for ſupplies of thoſe articles from Briſtol and Liverpool in return for her exports to thoſe places. The corn trade will become a prodigious article, if the produce of the two

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iſlands ſhould by an Union be put on the ſame footing as between two counties in England. The great inland navigations of Ireland will convey corn at a cheaper rate to Dublin, even from Limerick and Connaught, much cheaper than by a circuitous and precarious voyage by ſea. The canal tolls on corn and flour ſhould, in favour of Dublin, be purchaſed at the public expence, or greatly reduced; and the ſame ſhould be done in reſpect to the docks in the port of Dublin. This would facilitate the intercourſe between the two countries, and be a mutual advantage to them both; and would ultimately benefit Dublin much more than the reſidence of thoſe who would be ſent to the united Parliament. Dublin would become the warehouſe of the corn of that kingdom for the ſteady and certain corn markets of the North-weſt of Great Britain and the North of Ireland, where a very ſmall part of the conſumption of the

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inhabitants can poſſibly be grown. The Engliſh farmer may at firſt be alarmed, when he hears, that Ireland will be conſidered as a part of England in reſpect to the corn-trade; but the advantages will be reciprocal, and the effect, which ſome may apprehend from an influx of corn more than ſufficient, cannot take place. Unfortunately we conſtantly import as much oats as Ireland can ſpare at any time, at preſent double the quantity, and that evil is increaſing rather than decreaſing. She is well ſituated to furniſh that part of Great Britain, which will always require a ſupply of that kind of corn, and the quantity of wheat ſhe is ever likely to ſpare will not be ſufficient to overload the Britiſh markets. It will be much leſs miſchievous to the growers of wheat in England to have the ports regularly and conſtantly open to the limited quantity that can come from Ireland, than to have them open to a glut of

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corn from all parts of the world for three months certain; the moment the ſmalleſt proportion of the conſumption of this country is wanting, the moment its price becomes what is by no means extravagant, but on the contrary, while it is moderate, conſidering the increaſed expence of tillage. The opening of our ports for three months certain to all the world, when we only want a moderate quantity, may reduce the price of wheat ruinouſly low; but the comparatively ſmall quantity that could come from Ireland, would have no farther effect than ſupplying what may be actually wanted. When Ireland has a conſtantly open market in Great Britain for corn, it will prove the greateſt encouragement to her farmers to change their ſlovenly management. At preſent their corn is exported in ſo bad a ſtate, that it muſt meet the corn of other countries at market to great diſadvantage. When they have a

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ſteady market, they will ſoon find the neceſſity of preparing and dreſſing their corn in a manner that will enable it to bear a competition with the corn of England.

It has been ſuggeſted, that the manufactures of Ireland, and particularly the linen trade, would ſuffer through the want of a reſident Parliament. The principal manufactures and commerce of Scotland are ſituated at a greater diſtance from London than thoſe of Ireland, and they became what they are ſince the Union of the Parliaments; yet there has never been the ſlighteſt complaint in reſpect to neceſſary protection and aſſiſtance from the Britiſh Parliament: and perhaps it may not improperly be obſerved in this place, that no diſadvantage whatever has ariſen to the affairs of Scotland in conſequence of her having only forty-five Members in the Britiſh Parliament, but they have been as well attended to

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and as well managed as thoſe of England by upwards of five hundred Members, and the government of Scotland has been adminiſtered ſince Union as vigilantly and more impartially than before, and the ſame, in all probability, will be the caſe in reſpect to Ireland.

The objection to Union on the part of the Proteſtants of Ireland is unaccountable: they can hardly be ſaid to conſtitute a nation: they are an Engliſh colony governing upwards of three millions of Roman Catholics, or, at leaſt, ſix times their own number in a country acquired and maintained by Engliſh arms and treaſure, which colony never could have ſupported itſelf; and even in the laſt Summer would have been overwhelmed, unleſs protected by the ſame means by Engliſh power. They cannot diſdain that deſcription; many of them, I

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am ſure, are ſenſible, that ſuch is their ſituation, and that their conſequence and ſecurity depend on the connexion with the Mother Country. In reſpect to the Roman Catholics, Union alone can make it ſafe to ſatisfy their claims. By Union, all that enmity, jealouſy, and contrariety of intereſt, which naturally ariſe between thoſe two unequal bodies, muſt ſoon ceaſe. The Proteſtants will loſe nothing; I am ſatisfied their object was not monopoly, but ſafety: they will be ſafe, and relieved from all apprehenſions, and may have a better tenantry, and more attached to their intereſt. The Roman Catholics may acquire all they can deſire; and I hope we ſhall never again hear of Proteſtant aſcendancy or Catholic emancipation, words which have been very inſidiouſly employed to the worſt purpoſes. On cool reflexion it will appear, that Ireland will not incur any

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diſadvantage, but the advantages to be gained by her are the greateſt that can be conceived, and, in the firſt place, ſecurity and tranquillity, as it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that an identity of conſtitution and a due execution of the Laws, will produce the ſame effects in Ireland as they have done in Great Britain, and particularly in Scotland within this century. Till Union takes place, and not till then, will the theoretical independence of Ireland become practical. Ireland, in truth, is now actually dependent on England, through her diviſions, through her trade, and through her Conſtitution. Either the Proteſtants or the Catholics will depend on Engliſh ſupport. It has been ſhewn, that the trade of Ireland is abſolutely dependent on that of England; and the King of Great Britain being ſubject to Britiſh laws, in obeying him, and under the

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neceſſary controul of his Miniſters, Ireland muſt in ſome ſort be dependent: but ſuppoſing two perfectly independent Legiſlatures within the ſame empire, they muſt always be conſidered as in an uncertain and perilous ſtate, mutually inconvenient to each other, and always cheriſhing diſcontent and jealouſy. If one Parliament exerts powers in oppoſition to thoſe of the other, what muſt be the conſequences? They are ſo obvious, that it would be an abuſe of time to ſtate them. We cannot reflect with much ſatisfaction on the only two inſtances which have occurred ſince the independence of the Iriſh Legiſlature, wherein the two Parliaments could act oppoſitely to each other. The rejection of the commercial propoſitions in 1785, on the part of Ireland, has not obtained the applauſe, even in that country, of the well-informed, and the conduct which was held on the

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occaſion of appointing a Regency evinced a diſpoſition to riſk the miſchiefs which might be expected to ariſe from the claſhing of two independent Parliaments. In ſhort, if the ſort of independence which is claimed has any meaning, it leads to ſeparation—Union or ſeparation muſt take place; for it ſeems agreed on all ſides, that the countries cannot go on as they are.

Soon after the acceſſion of James the Firſt to the Thrones of theſe kingdoms, that wiſe Stateſman and Counſellor, Sir Francis Bacon, ſtrongly recommended an Union between England and Scotland. He clearly ſaw how faulty and precarious the fortunate junction of the two countries would be, if only ſupported by the circumſtance of having the ſame King. He propoſed a complete Union. He recommends highly the liberal ſyſtem of the

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Romans, obſerving, that their naturaliza-tions were, in effect, perpetual mixtures, not only with perſons, but with cities and countries; and adds, that there never were any States that were good commixtures but the Romans. He alſo obſerves, that the conduct of other kingdoms has been different, and conſequently the addition of farther empire and territory has been rather matter of burden than of ſtrength, and kept alive the ſeeds of revolt and rebellion for many ages. And he adds, that Arragon was united to Caſtile by a marriage; but after an hundred years, a civil war commenced in conſequence of the bad policy of not incorporating, but leaving it a ſeparate Government; and if he had lived as late as theſe times, he might have ſtated much ſtronger caſes. Machiavel alſo attributes the growth of the Roman Empire to the good policy in incorporating

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ſo eaſily with ſtrangers; and Molyneux, the ſtrenuous aſſerter of the independence of the Iriſh Parliament, ſays, an Union on equal terms would be highly advantageous to Ireland, and the beſt means of enjoying that independence: and the Iriſh Parliament, in the beginning of this century, expreſſed a deſire for an entire Union. But the times were not ſo enlightened as they now are, and a narrow policy prevented the participation of thoſe liberal, fair, and equal terms, which are now offered to Ireland. The preſent Chief Baron of Ireland, one of the firſt conſtitutional authorities of that kingdom, and a ſucceſsful ſupporter of Iriſh independence in 1782, has aſſerted, that the independence of the Iriſh Parliament was moſt valuable, becauſe it would enable Ireland to treat for a Union upon fair terms.

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The Union of Wales and Scotland with England, the Union of Bretagne, Dauphiny, and other provinces with France, the Union of the ſeveral kingdoms of Spain, all of which, while independent, were greatly prejudicial to each other, proved highly advantageous to the different countries and to the empires, in proportion to the completeneſs of legiſlative Union that took place; and the ſenſible Americans ſoon diſcovered how dangerous their ſituation would be, if they remained ſeparate independent States.

Every advantage that was expected, and more than was expected, has been derived from the Union of Scotland. No country was ever more diſturbed before and at the time. Nothing could tend more directly to ſeparation than the act of ſecurity which paſſed in the Parliament of Scotland juſt

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before that event: a great proportion of the people of all ranks were as ill-diſpoſed towards England as the worſt diſpoſed of the Iriſh. The Clans were as much out of the reach of the law as any part of Ireland can be ſuppoſed to be. To carry fire and ſword from one diſtrict into another, was as much the diſpoſition of the Highlanders, as it has been lately of White-boys and Defenders in Ireland. The taſte and faſhion of the people were to be in a ſituation to commit hoſtilities, and the chief men of the country, inſtead of endeavouring to excite the induſtry of their dependants, only valued themſelves in proportion to the number of thoſe who were diſpoſed to follow them in arms. Notwithſtanding the Crowns of the two kingdoms had been annexed above an hundred years, a connexion with France was ſtill kept up, and the moſt dangerous intrigues carried on. I ſhall only add, that

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although the cauſes or motives were not preciſely the ſame, the effects were; and many other inſtances of the diſorders, and of the reſemblance of the ſituation of Scotland at that time to the preſent ſtate of Ireland, might eaſily be ſtated, and that all thoſe circumſtances which diſturbed Scotland, as much as Ireland now is, have been done away by Union.

Nature has given many local advantages to Ireland. Union will give her a Conſtitution that is deemed the beſt; will give her tranquillity, wealth, and character; and money will be lent in Ireland, when ſettled, with as much confidence as in England. Thoſe who are now abſentees would find the advantage of reſiding there. Engliſhmen would riſk their perſons and property in that country, which, if not

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immediately, will in time, become as civilized as Great Britain.

On the whole, it may be confidently pronounced, Union is moſt neceſſary, and will be moſt beneficial to Ireland. The plan ſeems formed for her peculiar, although I will not ſay for her excluſive, advantage, and as a partial friend I could not propoſe any thing more favourable for her. Yet it by no means follows, that the great advantages of Union to Ireland will be counterbalanced by diſadvantages to Great Britain, or that the gain of Ireland will be the loſs of Great Britain. In a long courſe of years, even if the meaſure of Union ſhould not take place, manufactures and trade will decline in ſome places when they redouble from various circumſtances in others: but poſſible local diſadvantages muſt not prevent the Legiſ-

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lature from looking to the general good. It muſt be admitted, the proſperity of Ireland would be the proſperity of Great Britain. The inefficient ſtate of a part is a great loſs to the whole. The unſettled ſtate of that country is a general drawback from the proſperity of the empire, every part of which will find the advantage of that high degree of improvement which the aſſimilation of the two countries would effect. Great additional ſtrength, and ſecurity and general proſperity to Great Britain and to the Empire, will be the conſequence of Union, and the attention of the Executive Government would not hereafter, amidſt the diſtreſſes of war, and at the moment of the utmoſt peril, be diſtracted by conſpiracies and rebellion in Ireland.

Perhaps no circumſtance in the character

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of the commercial and manufacturing intereſts, and of the people in general in Great Britain, gives a greater proof of their liberality and good ſenſe, than their acquieſcence on this occaſion in ſome poſſible ſacrifice of manufactures, of commerce, and of conſtitution, for the ſake of unity and tranquillity of empire. The energies of commerce ſurpaſs, and ſometimes contradict, the moſt plauſible calculations: and even in a commercial light England might be benefited by a great increaſe of manufactures and commerce in Ireland, inaſmuch as Ireland will be better enabled to pay for the many articles ſhe will continue to take from England. We all know that much commercial advantage cannot be obtained by trading with a nation which is not rich, eſpecially when the produce of the two countries is the ſame. The interchange of

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commodities will animate trade; and no intelligent man will ſay, that the manufactures of England have decreaſed in conſequence of the great increaſe of manufactures in Scotland. But thoſe who will give themſelves the trouble of examining the queſtion will find, that the two countries are mutually benefited by the proſperous ſtate of their reſpective manufactures and commerce, and that competition encourages ſkill and induſtry, and promotes and enforces good regulations, and conſequent cheapneſs of manufacture. In reſpect to revenue, the empire will be highly benefited; for with the increaſe of wealth, there will be as great increaſe in the exciſe and cuſtoms; and when we enumerate the commercial and other advantages that would be derived from an Union, we ſhould not forget the miſchiefs that would be avoided, and that

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the final termination of the antient alliances, the connexion, and the intrigues of France with Scotland, and all projects of ſeparation, were at laſt effected by the Union of Great Britain.

In reſpect to the incompetence of Parliament, it is difficult to believe that that objection is at this time ſeriouſly urged: if it is, it only convinces me there is great want of argument againſt the meaſure of Union. The argument would throw us back to firſt principles; that is, the diſſolution of Government, and to that jargon which has nearly ruined Europe. This doctrine was ably refuted at the time of the Union with Scotland; if it had not, it would ill ſuit the pretenſions of Ireland to eſtabliſh it.

If I ſhould be aſked, whether I am ſatis-

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fied that Union will produce order and ſteady proſperity in Ireland, I. ſhould anſwer, that I am. The ſame violence and machinations which exiſt at preſent to effect ſeparation might poſſibly be attempted at firſt; but when Ireland is irrevocably become a part of Great Britain, there would gradually and ſoon be an end of ſpeculations and conſpiracies. France would no longer ſpeculate on diſtinct governments and intereſts. The enemies of order would not be tempted by any proſpect of ſucceſs: they would recollect, that it is not Ireland alone, but the three kingdoms, that muſt be induced to ſacrifice or yield their Conſtitution: and, as was the caſe in Scotland, when the people of that country, who had been ſo averſe to Union, had taſted the ſweets of that meaſure, they became the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters of it; inſomuch, that when it was the object to raiſe

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a rebellion there, it was found that a declaration againſt Union would be unpopular and hurt the cauſe.

It may appear extraordinary, that ſo much ſhould be ſaid in this Houſe to prove the advantage of Union to Ireland; but the arguments are not ſo miſapplied as they may ſeem to be, they are, in truth, arguments to recommend the laying a propoſition before the Iriſh nation ſo beneficial, that I cannot doubt but a people of great abilities and capable of diſcernment, will, when the heat of their alarm has ſubſided, no longer refuſe to take into conſideration a plan which may be highly advantageous to every part of the empire; and unleſs the meaſure had been ill underſtood, the unreaſonable refuſal to liſten to any propoſition, could not have taken place.

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In voting for the reſolutions, I do not mean to approve more than the *principle* of Union, to which no adequate objection has been ſtated. If we ſhould hereafter proceed to details, it will be then neceſſary to give all our attention, and exert our beſt powers in examining the articles; and above all, in preventing harm to the Conſtitution, taking care that we do not, with a levity and ſubmiſſion that ſeem to belong to the times, do any thing that may be unneceſſary for one country, and ſhould be highly dreaded by the other.

There has now been an opportunity of ſome experience, which it is to be hoped will promote the utmoſt liberality and candour in propoſing the meaſure, whenever the people of Ireland are found to be diſpoſed to accept it. Every man will agree with me in deprecating all idea of force or

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threats, or the uſe of any means that are not perfectly fair and honourable.

To render Union ſatisfactory and permanent, it will not be ſufficient that it be merely acceded to by Parliament. The people at large muſt be reconciled to it; and that they may, is the wiſh neareſt my heart. It is for Ireland that I am moſt intereſted on this occaſion. Her deplorable condition demands it; for I am moſt ſeriouſly convinced the meaſure is *abſolutely neceſſary for her tranquillity, ſecurity, and welfare.* The bad effects of two ſeparate Parliaments within one empire, and the baneful idea of ſeparation, can be done away only by an Union; and until that event takes place, Ireland will never be ſettled, will always be diſturbed by the moſt miſchievous ſpeculations and in-

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trigues, the ſport of parties, and of the enemies of England; ſhe will be a weakneſs as ſhe is at preſent, inſtead of a ſtrength to the empire.

THE END.

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A

LOYAL SUBJECT's

THOUGHTS

ON AN

UNION,

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, No. 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

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SOME THOUGHTS, &c.

IT is aſtoniſhing to perceive the avidity with which the United Iriſhmen, and their ſatellites in this kingdom, have ſwallowed down the hint recently thrown out, of a propoſed Union between Great Britain and Ireland; though this ſcheme if carried into effect, would according to my idea, prove the death-warrant for all the villainous deſigns which are now in embryo, or might hereafter as they hope, be brought to maturity. Theſe factious ſanguinary wretches, having been effectually diſappointed in their ambitious republican pro-

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jects, hitherto appear to enjoy a gratification ſo immenſe, that they have not ſufficient command over themſelves to conceal it, in contemplating the more than probable embarraſſments, which adminiſtration may be doomed to contend with, in bringing forward a meaſure of ſuch confeſſed magnitude; and theſe reſtrained, though not compleatly ſuppreſſed, knaves experience the moſt unbounded pleaſure, in concluding that the gentlemen of landed property in this country, muſt neceſſarily give a decided oppoſition to a plan, which is conceived to be pregnant with eſſential injury to them: this induces their malevolent diſpoſition to ſuppoſe, that their preſent weakened party will be conſiderably ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of men whoſe eſtates muſt labour under a large annual burden, in contributing to the exigencies of the State, and upon whom of courſe, they reckon as malecontents, naturally inclined to attach themſelves to the cauſe of freedom, as they treache-

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rouſly denominate it, and to reſiſt the ruinous intentions of ſelfiſh rulers; or that at any rate, every wealthy individual among us, who ſets his face againſt the levelling predatory principles which were attempted to be enforced in this Iſland, upon the diabolical model of France, would be now ſeverely and deſervedly puniſhed, for his obſtinacy in contemning the glorious fraternization, which was offered for his acceptance.

Did it occur to me that an avowal of my name could, even probably, ſerve any good purpoſe, I would not heſitate a moment to proclaim it, as no motive of perſonal fear deters me from doing ſo; but I am convinced that ſuch a diſcovery, would not be productive of any uſeful conſequences, even preſuming it to proceed from the greateſt Peer in the kingdom, becauſe people always will and ought to think for themſelves, eſpecially upon points wherein they happen to be themſelves deeply concerned, ſuffice it there-

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fore to remark, that I am an Hibernian by birth and reſidence, that I enjoy a competency, with which I am contented —that I am a warm admirer of our preſent Conſtitution in Church and State— that I unfeignedly wiſh for the welfare of the place of my nativity—that I am a zealous advocate for ſubordination, and earneſtly deſire to ſee the eſtabliſhment of ranks in ſociety perpetuated—that I am inſuperably averſe to the horrors of a revolution, and the unjuſt or violent acquiſition of any thing belonging to a fellow-creature—that I am not a placeman, penſioner, or expectant in any reſpect—that I never ſolicited or received any civil, military or eccleſiaſtical favor from Government—that I will not allow my *loyalty* to be inferior to that of our high-creſted Lord Chancellor himſelf; nor though I have not obtained any reward for attaching me to the happineſs of this country, do I eſteem it a proof of intolerable pride to aſſert, that my *patriotiſm* is more

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pure and diſintereſted than that of Henry Grattan, the real deceiver, though falſely denominated Saviour of Ireland, on whom ſuch enormous ſums were profuſely beſtowed—that I ſpurn with indignation, at the alledged idea of my being gratified with the bow of approbation from any man, howſoever elevated his ſtation may be, whoſe principles and conduct my conſcience ſuggeſted to me, that I ſhould treat with abhorrence and contempt, and that as I am not a Candidate for fame or emolument, and deſpiſe the mean arts of adulation, I truſt my remaining *incog*, will remove from me every imputation of being ſwayed by ſervile or mercenary motives.

About forty-five years ago the project of an Union was ſeriouſly debated; nor do I ſee any better reaſon for diſputing about it at this day, than preſented itſelf in every year ſucceſſively ſince that period; for as harpooners, in order to di-

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vert the wounded Whale, from making a deſtructive attack upon their boats, are ſaid to fling an empty caſk into the ſea, on which he may vent his fury; may not this object be glanced at, for the purpoſe of ſounding the depth of our profeſſed Loyalty, amidſt the diſtractions which ſtill prevail amongſt us, and at the cloſe of a rebellion almoſt unexampled, in point of baſe ingratitude and exterminating barbarity? Should this notion, nevertheleſs be erroneous, I am clearly of opinion that had the buſineſs under conſideration, been finally adjuſted at the time to which I allude, the commercial proſperity of this nation would have more than equalled that of Scotland, and the conſolidated connexion of the Empire, would have liberated us from numberleſs ſubſequent bones of contention in politics, which ſerved no other end than diſturbing our peace, and detaching us from really uſeful and honourable purſuits. And ſhould the talked-of Union, be upon cool and mature deliberation, judged

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expedient, I would readily ſubmit to ſuch a regulation, though attended with a reduction of my annual income; becauſe I am abundantly convinced that without the interpoſition of the Britiſh Navy, our comparative national imbecility, and inteſtine diviſions, would render us an eaſy prey to France; and then farewell to comfort, affluence and perſonal ſecurity for ever!

A change in circumſtances requires a correſponding alteration in the diſpoſal, and arrangement of affairs. The repeal of our penal laws, may have been literally deemed a meaſure of prudence and juſtice; and yet the original enforcement of them, was thought to be indiſpenſably requiſite for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion: the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, may excite alarms in the breaſts of thoſe who find their glorious ſchemes fruſtrated by ſuch a procedure; but methinks every ſincere ſupporter of good order, muſt approve of any ordinance which conduces to the ſuppreſſion

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of licentiouſneſs, and the eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity. And they who raiſe ſuch a furious outcry againſt an Union, and affirm it to be a groſs infringement of our Conſtitution, may as reaſonably alledge that what we ought not to do to-day, would be improper for to-morrow alſo: and that the Chalking Act was ſuperfluous, becauſe there were other pre-exiſting laws, againſt riots and violent aſſaults, though making no proviſion for this particular outrage.

Many of us muſt ſtill recollect how Thurot, with a few ſmall frigates under his command, landed a body of French Troops upon this Iſland, and after exciting a ſerious alarm throughout the province of Ulſter at leaſt, would have carried off his plunder, with impunity, had he not been intercepted at ſea by Commodore Elliot, and compelled to ſurrender to the ſuperiority of Britiſh valour. And a few weeks ago, another French ſquadron of lawleſs robbers and plunderers, would in the courſe of half a dozen of hours; have effected a deſcent up-

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on this country, and by the assistance of still more savage domestic traitors, have deluged it at this moment in blood, and cut out for us vastly more dreadful work than arguing about an Union, had not their plans of murder and rapine been providentially disconcerted by the critically opportune interference of the brave and active Sir John Warren. These instances serve to demonstrate that, notwithstanding all the noise we make about our boasted-of Independence, we are not capable of defending ourselves from the insults of any surrounding, rapacious enemy. And should Great Britain leave us wholly to ourselves, by withdrawing from us the protection of her irresistible Navy, I shudder at the very thought of the miserable condition in which such an event would involve us.

"Divide and govern," is the maxim adopted by all tyrants who apprehend a suc-

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ceſsful or formidable oppoſition to their arbitrary machinations, from a firm coalition againſt them of the different parties upon whom they had evil deſigns. By the arts of intrigue and policy Philip of Macedon firſt obtained the completion of his ambitious views upon the Grecian ſtates; and by jealouſy and civil diſſenſions among themſelves, they afterwards became an eaſy prey to enemies whom they had before effectually baffled by their unanimity. The federal plan reſpectively cemented between the Dutch Provinces, the Swiſs Cantons, and the North American States, clearly exhibits the expediency of a cloſe connexion between them to preſerve their general Independence; and the proximity of Scotland to England, between which the Partition-wall is almoſt ideal, ſatisfactorily proves that Nature intended they ſhould be united under one head, not only as a preventative againſt inteſtine commotions among themſelves, but alſo to advance

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their power and conſequence, and to ſecure them the more ſtrongly againſt the hoſtile projects of any enemy that looked upon them with a jealous eye, or ſeriouſly meditated their ſubjugation. Highly applicable to ourſelves is the wiſe leſſon of the father who, on his death-bed, called in his ſons, to whom he delivered a bundle of twigs tied up, deſiring them to break it, which they in vain eſſayed to do, but were able to accompliſh it with eaſe, when the rods were ſingly preſented to them; from which he took an opportunity of inculcating the indiſpenſable duty of fraternal concord to mantain their mutual ſafety. The inhabitants of Ireland, intimately joined to Great Britain, and relying upon Providence for protection, may ſmile with ſuperlative contempt at the menaces of all ſurrounding foes; ſeparated from England they muſt inevitably become the conquered vaſſals of ſome powerful aſſailant, even ſuppoſing our ſiſter kingdom not to be

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the attacking nation, but merely to remain neuter, and leave us to our fate. And if we heartily bewail the ſorrows of our bleeding Country, lacerated ſo grievouſly by civil feuds, I cannot conceive a remedy ſo efficacious as an Union, not only to heal our preſent wounds, but alſo to act as an antidote to ward off future onſets from the parts which are now found to be ſo very vulnerable.

It is inſinuated that an Union would prove highly prejudicial to our manufactures, becauſe, when the Engliſh Merchant, burdened with large protecting duties in our favor, is able to underſel us in our own markets, what muſt be the caſe when theſe difficulties are removed? Admitting this objection to be well-founded, yet I am led to imagine that the complaint is to be attributed to our own conduct in a great degree, and that additional induſtry and frugality on our ſide would adminiſter a compleat cure for what we are

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diſpoſed to regard as an intolerable evil. Sorry am I to obſerve that we are deſtitute of that integrity in our dealings which characterizes the inhabitants of England in an eminent manner; that unpardonable pride deters us from embarking in ſeveral branches of buſineſs to which they aſſiduouſly apply themſelves; and that we frequently retire from the buſtle of an active life, to ſquander in luxury and diſſipation a fortune which we call conſiderable, but which many of our Britiſh neighbours would reckon no more than a moderate capital for the commencement of trade. Beſides, ſhould we not conſider that in the exportation of Beef, Butter, and various other articles, we reap particular benefit; and that we have an excluſive advantage in our ſtaple manufacture, the Linen Trade, in which we muſt always remain unrivalled; And would it not be a deſirable object for us to ſecure, by means of an Union, the immediate introduction of ſeveral Commodities which we actually

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ſtand in need of, or are determined to poſſeſs, but which we are at preſent conſtrained to procure in a circuitous channel, expoſed to much danger by a coaſting ſea paſſage, and at a ſenſibly advanced price.

If I may preſume to ſay any thing relative to the number of Peers and Commoners, who ſhould repreſent this kingdom in the Britiſh Parliament, in conſequence of an Union; I would beg leave to ſuggeſt, that our four Arch-Biſhops, together with the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Juſtices of the King's Bench, and Common Pleas, the chief Baron of Exchequer, and twelve other Lay Lords, ſhould ſit in the Houſe of Peers, either perſonally or by proxy; and that ſixty members from Ireland, ſhould have ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, which we ought to be contented with; as Scotland has not any reaſonable cauſe of being diſſatisfied with a ſmaller number; and with the exception of gentlemen who were attending their duty in Parliament, I would approve of the

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exaction of an annual tax, to the amount of five ſhillings to the pound, from every perſon who enjoyed a landed property in Ireland, and yet was an abſentee from it during three months each year. People indeed, actuated by motives of intereſt, may exclaim againſt this, as an arbitrary attack upon the liberty of the ſubject, in not permitting him to reſide wherever he choſe, but ſurely, to ſpeak in the language of Scripture, " where the carcaſe is, there ſhall the Eagles be gathered together;" and in point of ſtrict equity, where the means of living are regularly obtained, there ought they alſo to be expended. However, though I look upon Abſentees, as the idle drones which rob the induſtrious bees of their honey; yet I would readily conſent that one thouſand of them, poſſeſſed of five thouſand pounds annually on an average, ſhould withdraw themſelves altogether from this kingdom, on condition that an equal number of Britiſh manufacturers, with a capital of five millions of pounds, could be prevailed upon to ſettle among us.

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I reſide upon a farm, the annual value of which has been trebled at leaſt ſince it came into my hands, by the care and attention beſtowed upon it; and yet many of my neighbours who enjoyed equal advantages with me, and had as great domeſtic claims upon them, have ſuffered their lands to remain in a ſhameful ſtate of negligence, merely through ſloth and idleneſs; for though they pretended to theoretic knowledge, yet they had not reſolution to make experiments which might have richly repaid all their labour and expence. I mention this, not from any oſtentatious principle with regard to myſelf, becauſe my line of conduct was no other than what common prudence dictated, but to expoſe the ſlovenly, lazy carriage of too many among my countrymen, and to ſhew that by their own reprehenſible indolence, with reſpect to tillage, their grounds have been much leſs productive, than they could be rendered by proper management; and that the hardſhips which they may occaſionally

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happen to feel by a ſcarcity of proviſions, is to be charged infinitely more to their own ſupine behaviour, without bringing intoxication at all into the account, than the inclemency of the ſeaſons, the barrenneſs of their fields, the ſeverity of landlords, or the exorbitant weight of tithes and taxes, about which they are well inclined to raiſe ſuch an outcry.

It is abſolutely unavoidable, for Ireland to become an appendage either to France or England. Should we be conquered by the former of theſe Nations; the inexpreſſibly wretched condition of the countries they have pillaged and overrun, may ſerve to teach us what we might neceſſarily expect, from a ſucceſsful incurſion of ſuch unprincipled invaders. If however we rely upon them as friends, to aſſiſt us in aſſerting what we call our violated Rights, we lean upon a broken reed, which muſt pierce us to the heart; for even ſuppoſing that ſome of theſe predatory ruffians, ſhould by ſtealth effect a

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landing in this country, for the purpoſe of ſeconding the wicked deſigns of the native inſurgents; are we weak enough to think that England, whilſt ſhe rides triumphant on the ocean, would remain an idle ſpectator of ſuch proceedings, and not hurl deſtruction upon our perfidious coadjutors? and would we not ſplit into inveterate parties among ourſelves, become a prey to Britiſh energy, and concord, and ſink into a ſubdued and depopulated province, ſeverely ſcourged with the rod of affliction, which our own rebellious temerity drew down upon us, and juſtly eſteemed undeſerving of lenity or confidence? But I augur better things, and ardently truſt that the demon of folly, intemperance and licentiouſneſs, will not acquire ſo great an aſcendancy over us, as to involve us in ſuch calamitous circumſtances.

It may be whiſpered, than an Union would reduce to the humble ſtandard of country Squires, a conſiderable number of Iriſh Peers, who could not procure ſeats in the Britiſh Parliament. But what has ſuch

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a conſideration to do with the aggrandizement of this nation at large? nay, what has it do, with very many of the Noblemen in queſtion, whoſe extreme reliſh for retirement, has hitherto prevented them from perſonally diſcharging the duties of their ſenatorial function? and as for the others, if they can perform the wholeſome taſk of accommodating themſelves to their new ſituation, and ſtudy to demean themſelves towards their fellow-creatures, with the conciliating dignity of gentlemen, they will experience a larger degree of veneration among mankind, than a ſupercilious carriage, or the vain trappings of pageantry can ever ſecure, and which muſt fully compenſate for the imaginary degradation of their ſuperior rank and conſequence.

During the late American war, the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, preſented to his Majeſty four Sail of the Line, carrying 74 Guns each, compleatly equipped for ſea. The tongue of envy will doubtleſs,

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ſtate this to have been a ſelfiſh compliment; but did we, on that occaſion, contribute ſo much as a ſingle frigate? I know it may be replied that our Parliament voted a certain ſum of money in order to furniſh a ſupply of ſailors. Are we, however, to arrogate any credit to ourſelves for a mere matter of neceſſity, and on the adoption of which our own ſafety in a great meaſure depended? And methinks that glory and profit abundantly recompenſed the gallant men who ſerved on board the fleet at this juncture. We have, indeed, a ſort of nominal Court of Admiralty, ſuited to our *Imperial Grandeur*, and freed from the burden of conſtructing or ſuperintending an Iriſh Navy; but did not the Britiſh Fleet protect our commerce, how could we venture to avail ourſelves of our inſular ſituation with any flattering proſpect of advantage?

As I never yet ſpent a moment of my life out of Ireland, nor, moſt probably, ever will, it cannot reaſonably be inſinu-

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ated that I wiſh to depreciate the place of my nativity, though I conceive I am excuſable in ſuggeſting that we ought not to arrogate to ourſelves qualifications which experience proves we cannot unqueſtionably lay claim to: becauſe our ſelf-complacency will render us blind to the imperfections which we labor under, and, conſequently, inſenſible to the expediency of a reformation; for why ſhould we endeavour to remove blemiſhes which our foſtering fondneſs will not permit us to behold in a criminal light: The majority of our emigrants to other countries are far from being generally eſteemed; becauſe it is pretty openly urged that their behaviour at home was not commendable, and from thence it is inferred that a change of climate will not effect a deſirable alteration of temper. I am much concerned to obſerve, that we have not incontrovertible pretenſions to honeſty, induſtry, ſobriety and devotion, and muſt not, of courſe, look upon ourſelves to be an Iſland of

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Saints, whoſe exemplary lives leave no room for amendment. It muſt not, however be denied that we have many ſtriking inſtances of ſincere, diſintereſted friendſhip to boaſt of; and that compaſſion for objects in diſtreſs has a diſtinguiſhed influence upon us. Hoſpitality and courage are alledged to be our national characteriſtics: But do not our convivial aſſociations very frequently terminate in beſtiality? And even without dwelling too much upon the execrable atrocities which have affixed an indelible odium to the late rebellion in this kingdom, is not our bravery repeatedly marked by raſhneſs, revenge, and wanton ferocity? A cordial and anxious deſire, therefore, for the ſubſtantial happineſs of this iſland, inclines me fondly to expect that an Union with Great Britain will induce many Engliſhmen to ſettle among us, to augment and improve our manufactures; to prompt us to imitate them in their advantageous mode of huſbandry; to meliorate and civilize our

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manners; and check that hateful propenſity to pride and inſolence which has ſo long operated againſt our riſing to opulence by a ſedulous and unwearied application to our ſeveral avocations. As by civilization I underſtand a laudable reſpect for piety, honeſty, and morality; God help thoſe depraved ſcholars who, taking the French for their preceptors, would wickedly ſuppoſe me to mean a cringing politeneſs, devoid of ſincerity, and an audacious contempt for every ſolemn inſtitution, human and divine; but though I will not unreſervedly pronounce that we are a nation of untamed monſters, yet I cannot avoid acknowledging that many acts of cruelty have been recently perpetrated among us which would diſgrace the moſt unlettered Negro in the wilds of Africa itſelf.

[illegible]y be ſaid that an Union with Great [illegible] would be fraught with the moſt [illegible] conſequences to Dublin in particu-

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lar. I readily grant that there may be ſome foundation for ſuch an alarm, but by no means to ſuch an extent as ſelfiſh or prejudiced perſons are induced to repreſent it; nor can it become that dreary wilderneſs which a gloomy imagination may figure to itſelf. The removal of our Parliament will certainly be attended with conſiderable loſs to the citizens of our preſent Metropolis, which they may, notwithſtanding, in a great meaſure remedy by a more economical mode of living, in diſcontinuing their extravagant routs, parting with their expenſive country-houſes, diſmiſſing their coſtly equipages, and repreſſing their diſſipated indulgences; and they will ſtill retain among them the ſeat of a permanent Viceroy, a flouriſhing Univerſity, the Courts of Juſtice, a National Bank, and a General Poſt Office. Beſides, the additional influx of money into this country, which I am without heſitation led to believe would reſult from the adoption of ſuch an eſtabliſhment as we are treating

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of, ſhould incline us to overlook the injury ſuſtained by any ſingle place, when contraſted with the benefit accruing to the community at large; and though the coalition which I ſpeak of ſhould even bear hard upon my own little property, yet I know I could ſubmit to ſuch an amputation without murmuring, in conſequence of its contributing in any degree to the good of the State. I ſhall not, by the bye, pretend to affirm that our circumſtances will enable us to pay any of the national debt already contracted by Great Britain, nor do I think that juſtice or generoſity would warrant ſuch a demand; but I hope we will never be found backward in a zealous ſupport of the Britiſh Empire, in proportion to our ability, and that the prudence and equity of Adminiſtration will not attempt to exact more from us.

Could it be made appear, that the laws framed in Great Britain, are leſs perfect and equitable, than thoſe which owe their birth

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to Ireland, there might be ſome juſtice in the unwillingneſs we diſplay to relinquiſh our prerogative in this particular; but I think we will not be hardy enough to deny, that our moſt admired Statutes originated in England, and that we ought not to be aſhamed of borrowing from ſo excellent a ſtock. Beſides, how can we pretend to affirm, that an Union will deprive us of the unalienable privilege of Legiſlating for ourſelves, while a number of Iriſh Repreſentatives hold ſeats in the Britiſh Parliament? or what ground of reaſon have we to ſurmiſe, that under ſo glorious a Conſtitution as we enjoy, it could be reckoned good policy in Adminiſtration, to depreſs *any part* of the Empire intentionally, where it is evidently advantageous to promote the welfare of *every part*. Scotland, indeed, at firſt ſtarted many objections againſt a connexion with England, inſtigated thereto, without doubt, by an unjuſtifiable national pride on one hand, and likewiſe, as it would ſeem, from a ruinous infatuation of keeping alive a ranco-

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rous quarrel of rivalſhip between the neighbouring countries, which to her had oftentimes produced ſuch woful diſtreſs; but two diſaſtrous rebellions, madly embarked in on the ſcore of ſeparation, brought her to a proper ſenſe of her extreme folly; and her cloſe application to agriculture and commerce, in which ſhe has ſince ſo eminently thriven, has taught her by experience, the beſt ſort of wiſdom, that ſhe has had no cauſe to complain for having incorporated her ſenate into the Engliſh Parliament: and if Scotland which is only ſemi-inſular, has acquired conſpicuous proſperity by Trade, ſince her intimate junction with England, how infinitely ſupreior muſt our advantages be in a ſimilar ſituation, whoſe harbours lie open to every point of the compaſs, and whoſe lands boaſt naturally of a ſoil peculiarly fertile? How ſingularly happy muſt we become, bleſſed as we are with an incomparably wholeſome climate, if by induſtry, frugality and a bold ſpirit of enterprize, we cultivate the opportunities of

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abundance and comfort, which Providence has graciouſly vouchſafed to throw in our way? Could our lower ranks of people prudently reſtrain that inconſiſtent paſſion for Politics which has deplorably expoſed them to the influence of diſaffected, ambitious knaves, and devote to diligence in their reſpective occupations, the many precious hours which they unfortunately laviſh upon riot, gambling and drunkenneſs; reſpectability and affluence would reward their virtuous conduct, and the fruition of health and mental ſatisfaction, beſtow a tenfold reliſh upon their worldly enjoyments. But when they buſy themſelves extravagantly in State affairs, which are far beyond the ſphere of comprehenſion, they miſerably pervert the end of their creation, and injure the community in an eſſential manner by their factious and turbulent behaviour, at the ſame time that they wantonly neglect the means of rendering their own circumſtances eaſy and independent.

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In a world compoſed of jarring, periſhable materials, we muſt not look for any thing abſolutely permanent. The laws of the Medes and Perſians were vainly repreſented to be *unchangeable*; and yet what is now become of them? Offenſive and defenſive alliances have been ratified between different Nations, which erring mortals have declared to be of *perpetual* force; and yet how ſhort-lived has war, or ſome other circumſtance, rendered their exiſtence? The *everlaſting* commercial treaty between France and England was diſſolved almoſt at the inſtant of its formation, moſt probably never again to be revived. A man by the increaſe or diminution of his fortune, or by the birth or death of friends, may find it requiſite to alter a will, which he had once confirmed as the *invariable* diſtribution of his property. And compacts and agreements between private individuals, and public ſtates, pronounced to be of *eternal* duration, may be frequently abrogated, by numberleſs conſpiring and unforeſeen occurrences,

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without any actual, or premeditated infringement upon the rules of ſtrict equity and juſtice. I am not a ſtickler for paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, or the divine right of Kings: nor do I plead for a ſtability of government, without any exception, becauſe in doing ſo I would be a ſupporter of deſpotiſm; yet the conduct of the French, in rejecting this odious ſpecies of authority, before they ſubſtituted any other form in its place, has demonſtrated that even arbitrary rule is preferable to anarchy and confuſion, and as we are apt to naufeate medicines which are of the moſt ſanative quality, and are too credulous in believing the deceitful tales of State Quacks, who preſcribe political noſtrums replete with infallible virtues, as they would inſinuate. How cautious then ought we to be in liſtening to the ſelfiſh repreſentations of ambitious impoſtors, who aſpire to legiſlative power, and who, if advanced to that ſituation, would prove the moſt intolerant tyrants, that ever curſed the miſerable dupes of their treachery?

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Should the tempeſt of wrathful clamor be raiſed againſt me, I will not retort, ſo that the hurricane which would rive the ſturdy, reſiſting oak, ſhall paſs innocuous over my head; for, bending like the humble willow beneath the furious ſtorm, I will thereby elude its deſolating rage. Be it remembered, however, that irony, ſcurrility, or invective cannot alter my ſentiments, or convince me that my opinions are erroneous or cenſurable, though my poſitions may not, perhaps, poſſeſs that ſtrength of argument, or facility of expreſſion with which other writers can ſo happily elucidate this truly momentous ſubject. Should I be loaded with unprovoked abuſe, and my little Eſſay accuſed of being frigid and ſuperficial; I ſhall make no other defence than to avow the integrity of my intention in the part which I have ventured to eſpouſe, and in this particular I will not yield to any individual among my opponents or coadjutors. Though the tide of popularity may at pre-

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ſent flow violently againſt that ſide of the queſtion which I have embraced, yet it does not neceſſarily follow from thence that I am wrong, unleſs it can be indubitably proved that the majority which diſſents from me muſt be invariably right; and yet we all know and confeſs that men are ſometimes ſo obſtinately wedded to palpable errors, as to be impervious to conviction. I do not build my attachment to the meaſure of an Union upon mere ſpeculation, plauſible hypotheſis, quibbling ſophiſtry, or pecuniary proſpects, but on plain, unadorned matter of fact, analogous deductions, liberal, patriotic principles, and rational calculations with reſpect to future poſſible contingencies, ſo far as my contracted underſtanding enables me to judge; and therefore my miſtakes are the offspring of weak intellects, and not of deliberately impoſing deſign. Brilliant talents, fertility of conception, and animated elegance of diction are not at my command; but I will not readily wave

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my pretenſions to that probity of mind which my conſcience tells me that I have never yet forfeited by the commiſſion of any diſhonorable act.

In a word; I am well aſſured that the infernal temper, of our deteſtable, domeſtic foes, will ſtimulate them to ſtrain every faculty of their corrupted minds in diſſeminating ſedition and diſcord throughout this country; in reviving the ſmothered rebellion, by kindling afreſh the embers of diſaffection; and endeavouring to alienate even our regular troops, militia and yeomen from their ſworn allegiances, by falſehood and miſrepreſentation; but as their abominable plots and conſpiracies have been hitherto detected, and terminated in confuſion to themſelves: ſo I truſt that our valiant ſoldiers will be prompted by the impulſe of honor and duty, to turn a deaf ear to the profeſſions of their meditated deceivers, by reſolutely oppoſing their nefarious machinations; that the good ſenſe of the nation

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will not ſuffer itſelf to be miſled by the wicked deſigns of crafty inſiduous miſcreants, who affect a warm attachment for a meaſure which ſo manifeſtly militates againſt their democratic ſchemes; and that we will not be warped by ſullen or petulant prejudice, merely againſt the name of an Union, without duly weighing the importance of the object under conſideration; giving it a fair and candid inveſtigation; and ſeriouſly calculating the dangers and loſſes poſſibly attendant on a rejection of it.

When the wild phrenzy of the times ſubſides, I flatter myſelf I ſhall ſhare the mite of applauſe, in common with my fellow-laborers in this cauſe, for our affectionate addreſſes to our Countrymen on the momentous ſubject of an Union. Let the voice of unbiaſſed reaſon be heard, and by her deciſion alone let us be determined in all our deliberations. Let me not be taxed with the introduction of ex-

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traneous matter, until we reflect that the coalition which we are contemplating comprehends a multiplicity of intereſting circumſtances. Should it not bear the aſpect of methodiſtical ſermonizing, I would remark that our paſſage through life is tranſitory, and rugged at the beſt. Is it not, then, inexcuſably imprudent, nay, is it not unfeelingly cruel, in us inconſiſtently to augment the vexations which we cannot avoid, and plant thorns in our narrow path, which muſt inflict anguiſh upon others, as well as ourſelves?

FINIS.

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THE PROBABILITY, CAUSES, AND CONSEQUENCES OF AN UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, DISCUSSED:

WITH STRICTURES ON AN

ANONYMOUS PAMPHLET,

IN FAVOUR OF THE MEASURE,

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN HIGH IN OFFICE.

BY THE REV. DENNIS TAAFFE.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY J. HILL, 51, ABBEY-STREET.—1798.

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THE PROBABILITY, CAUSES, AND CONSEQUENCES OF AN UNION, &c.

AMIDST the disgrace and ruin brought upon us by the late unfortunate events; by the intolerant pride and avarice of short-sighted monopoly on one hand, holding in its greedy grasp the exclusive management of a mutilated constitution, as an engine of exclusive dominion and spoil; and the intemperate zeal and ambition of those who sought reform, and through reform looked for equal freedom, union, national government, and the general prosperity of all, without distinction of sect; attainable, as they supposed, through the medium of a virtuous independent legislature, representing the entire nation. Amidst the general mourning and desolation that sadden our plains, the cries of destitute widows and orphans, the bleeding recollection of the most horrible cruelties and atrocious crimes, plunder, massacre, torture, fanaticism, and all the furies recorded in fable or history; amid the grief, terror, and anxiety that benumb the

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heart, and palſy the intellectual powers; the deſpondency of the good, the dreadful licence of the wicked; the heart-burnings and deadly animoſity that rankle in the breaſts of men ſmarting from recent injuries, and breathing nothing but revenge, even to extermination; while all freedom of enquiry, whether by ſpeech or writing, is treated as treaſon, and ſtruck dumb by the terrors of martial law and military execution; it may be deemed raſh to come forward with any political opinion, at a period ſo inauſpicious to truth and juſtice. It may be deemed an hopeleſs taſk to awaken the public mind to national concerns.

Amid the general diſmay that aſſumes the appearance of apathy, I for one am ready to acknowledge, that I do not deſpiſe exiſtence, deſtitute as it is of moſt thoſe circumſtances that render it deſirable, and beguile the burthen of life. The alluring proſpects that faſcinate youthful ambition, the gay, the charming deluſions that give an intereſt to the moſt trivial objects of deſire, that enliven the ſpirits, and fire the fancy, on our entrance in the career of human affairs, are fled indeed. I can no longer cheriſh life for the ſake of any ſelfiſh plan of individual happineſs; one ſtrong motive ſurvives, the deſire of promoting the happineſs of my kind, and of doing ſomething uſeful in my day. Have I performed my taſk? or is my death likely to prove more beneficial to mankind, than my further continuance in exiſtence? I truſt, in that caſe, the trying hour ſhall find me chearfully reſigned to the ſtroke. I was not made to cringe and fawn to ruffian power, for the wretched purpoſe of obtaining a permit to live at the expence of truth, and the duty I owe my countr and man-

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kind; and moſt of all, to tyrants and their accomplices, for ſurely none ſtand ſo much in need of the wholeſome admonitions of truth, as the deluded victims of paſſion and injuſtice, who hate her moſt.

It is a duty incumbent on us to miniſter to the wants of our fellow-creatures, moſt eſpecially their moral wants. When the word Tyrant is mentioned, ſome perſons are apt to confine its meaning excluſively to the abuſe of eſtabliſhed authority. That however is a groſs miſtake. Coercion exerciſed on others by any force, in the place of argument or perſuaſion, comes properly under that denomination. The pike of the inſurgent may be as much in the ſervice of tyranny, as the bayonet of the mercenary. Force in any ſhape is a very improper inſtrument of conviction; it may put a temporary reſtraint on the external man, but the hoſtile mind ſtill remains. Every purpoſe that is honeſt will be beſt promoted by amicable diſcuſſion, from whoſe mild beams no men or meaſures can ſhrink, without pleading guilty by the very fact.

Away with the rage and folly of faction, its criminal exceſſes, its brutal unmanly triumphs in the diſgrace and ruin of our country. Had the men of blood a particle of intellect; did any thing humane, or civilized, or patriotic enter into their compoſition, they would bewail, with tears of blood, the calamities they have inflicted on themſelves, as well as on their ſuppoſed enemies, and the undefinable evils they have prepared for our common poſterity. They have acted in the very manner their worſt enemies could wiſh. What ſpectacle would the enemy of Ireland wiſh to be-

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ho'd that he has not ſeen? Iriſhmen divided into hoſtile factions, tearing the bowels of their country. cutting each other's throats, and firing each other's habitations! Whoever ſtimulates them to mutual ſtrife and ruin, muſt expect to make them both a prey; their diviſions will facilitate ſuch an enterprize, and they will ſpeedily reap the fruits of their wickedneſs and folly, in the loſs of that conſtitution which they preconized and abuſed; and in the irrevocable doom of provincial ſervitude, one party invite a French invaſion, the other invite a Britiſh invaſion. The latter have ſucceeded, and will no doubt keep what they have conquered. It were a ſilly dream to imagine that Britiſh arms effected the conqueſt of Ireland for the benefit of Orange-men; that blood was ſhed, and Engliſh treaſure waſted, out of pure good will for Iriſh proteſtants.

The Britiſh cabinet laughs at our party diſtinctions; while it openly profeſſes to cheriſh that party which promotes its views, it can ſee no other merit in it than its ſubſervieney. 'Tis not as Iriſhmen, ſurely, that they can flatter themſelves to poſſeſs the partial favour of Engliſhmen. On what occaſion then? As proteſtants. Oh! ſilly bigots! How little do you comprehend the expanded views of the illuminated miniſter. He can league himſelf juſt as cordially with emigrant papiſt prieſts, with popiſh Auſtria, and inquiſitorical bigot Spain, to advance his own ſchemes; he would league himſelf with the Turk, Jew, Pagan, or even the devil himſelf, for the ſame end.

When all Ireland was catholic, expedients were found to create and keep alive a Britiſh faction. was if it all proteſtant now, ſome new contrivance

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would not be wanting, ſome paltry ridiculous diſtinction, to anſwer the purpoſe of dividing the people, and forming a faction ſold to foreign intereſt, and hoſtile to the ſoil. Or ſuppoſe the proteſtants formed the great majority of Iriſhmen, and felt it their greateſt intereſt to ſupport the independence and proſperity of the country; and that the catholic minority were as eager to become the tools of Britiſh ſupremacy as the proteſtant now is, they would meet with the ſame kind of favour, encouragement, and reward, as the miſnamed aſcendancy now receives; they would, like the preſent pot-wallopping dogs, be permitted to lick the crumbs that fell from the table of Britiſh ſupremacy.

Iriſhmen, you have ſealed your own doom. The moment you appealed to foreign powers, and invoked the interpoſition of foreign force in your domeſtic diſputes, you have proclaimed your inability to govern yourſelves; you have renounced your independence, your autonomia or ſelf-legiſlation, ſo dearly purchaſed. You became the vaſſal of that power which has *protected* you againſt each other, and thus you verify the old proverb, "A houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand." Numberleſs are the inſtances on record of this truth; Poland and Ireland ſtand laſt on the liſt. Aſcendancy or Orange, whichſoever name you like beſt, your unwearied efforts ſhall be crowned with their merited reward. The bleſſings you refuſed to ſhare, and which by ſharing you would encreaſe an hundred fold, are about to elude your ſelfiſh gripe. Your little pride, with your little delegated tyranny, and diviſion of ſpoil, are at the laſt gaſp, for an UNION with Britain now occupies the attention of the Britiſh cabinet!

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This meaſure has long been in contemplation. Now that we are on the eve of ſeeing it realized, we ſtand amazed! affect to look on the report as unworthy of belief, and ſcarcely allow ourſelves to diſcuſs the probability or conſequences of ſuch an event. This conduct is ſtupid. We ſhould prepare ourſelves for the approaching criſis, and make up our minds as to the conduct we ſhould hold; whether to approve or condemn, to ſupport or oppoſe the meaſure.

To that end I beg leave to offer what has occurred to me on the ſubject, ſtating the arguments on each ſide of the queſtion with as much impartiality as I am capable of. For the ſake of perſpicuity, I ſhall divide the ſubject under the following heads:

1ſt. Is the union of legiſlatures practicable or probable at this day?

2d. Is it likely to prove beneficial to this country or otherwiſe?

The firſt propoſition naturally reſolves itſelf into the two following:

1ſt. Has the Britiſh miniſter the means of accompliſhing it?

2d. Does it appear deſireable in his eyes?

As to the firſt queſtion of the ſecond diviſion, it is eaſily ſolved. His ability to accompliſh it is indiſputable. With large Engliſh armies in the heart of our country, and more ready to follow in caſe of need, yet he finds his ſureſt reſource in our own diviſions! Such is the miſerable ſtate to which theſe fatal feuds have reduced us, that we can oppoſe no effectual reſiſtance to any meaſure, however inimical to our proſperity. It remains then to examine, whether the meaſure in queſtion ſhall appear a good one. Mr. Pitt would not heſitate to

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anſwer in the affirmative. Let us ſketch the reaſons he would probably urge in defence of it.

" In her preſent ſituation Ireland cannot be ſuffered to remain. What is ſhe at the preſent hour? A mere burthen on us; inſtead of contributing her contingent towards this moſt expenſive and juſt war in ſupport of eſtabliſhed governments, ſhe drains us of men and money; her diſtractions alarm and agitate us; they depreſs our funds, and encourage the hopes of our vigilant enemy, by preſenting him with a vulnerable part, in which the empire may be aſſailed with ſucceſs. The reputation of our government has ſuffered in the eyes of Europe, by reaſon of the atrocities perpetrated there in its name. My conſcience acquits me of any participation in the foul deeds. If I call on our party there for ſupport, I do not invite them to be brutal. I commanded no rapes, or robberies, or tortures, nor burning of houſes, nor maſſacres of unconvicted felons. If I ordered them to ſubdue and ſuppreſs, I did not require of them to exterminate, and that with the moſt horrible circumſtances of diabolical cruelty and baſe-hearted villainy. I iſſued no orders to aſſaſſinate every one they met, whether innocent or guilty, if not poſſeſſed of the private ſignals of Orangiſm.

" This maſs of evil, phyſical and moral, that affect ſo eſſentially the honour and proſperity of the empire, might, for the preſent, be conſigned to oblivion, and your preſent ſyſtem of Iriſh government be endured, did not the well founded apprehenſion of the future recurrence of ſimilar diſorders forbid it. [He is ſuppoſed here diſcuſſing the queſtion with the ſelf-appointed Iriſh agents.] If the paſt furniſh any criterion to judge of the future,

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we have no great prospect of deriving benefit from the present terms of our connection. What is your history since the first establishment of it, but a gazette of the wars, massacres, and devastations occasioned by encroachment on the one hand, and resistance on the other? Whatever be the causes of this misfortune, they have operated hitherto unceasingly. The causes must be sought for either in the natural and incurable depravity of the Irish, or in the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed. Incredible as it must seem to a reflecting and dispassionate judge, many have been the utterers of the former alternative; absurd, almost blasphemous calumny, equally disgraceful to the heart that would conceive, and the head that could give utterance. Were that the case, they must be left to themselves or exterminated!

"But no. Human nature is every where much alike; susceptible of every impression, good or ill; of almost any degree of refinement or barbarity, virtue or vice. Civilization has made the tour of the world, and nations have had their vicissitudes, of civilization and science, of ignorance and barbarity. Our ancestors, the painted Britons, were on a level with the Pagans of the present day; while Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, &c. possessed arts and sciences. Now that Britain excels in all these accomplishments, what are the descendants of the above mentioned renowned nations? Even Ireland has had her period of learning and civilization! in a word, mankind are what the civil and religious institutions of the world have made them; together with influence of soil, climate, and geographical position.

"Having thus, as I think, cleared the Irish

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character from the malevolent aſperſions even of many Iriſh writers, over-zealous to defend ruling meaſures at the expence of national character, I am free to fix the entire blame of thoſe calamities that conſume you and injure us, on the defects in your political ſyſtem. You muſt have an aſcendancy, as the price of ſupporting our ſupremacy. And what is that aſcendancy? A monopoly of all power, honour, public offices, and the emoluments flowing from thence; the power of ruling and taxing the nation at pleaſure, and the produce of the whole public revenue, levied upon the people at large, diſtributed in the ſhape of ſalaries and penſions among yourſelves and partizans.

"Really your vaunted loyalty to the connexion is purchaſed at an enormous price; it is a mercenary and miſerable thing. It is time to conſider, whether the ſervices you have performed deſerve to be requited in this prodigal manner. You may boaſt indeed of being the moſt able architects of diſcontent and confuſion in the king's dominions. The tyrannical and inſulting manner in which you treated the juſt claims of the Iriſh, after their expectations were raiſed on the ſeemingly ſtrong ground of royal bounty, and their evident expediency and juſtice ſpread general diſcontent, the violent meaſures of coercion and oppreſſion to which you reſorted, contrary to all law and right, in order to ſmother complaint, and ſtifle the communication of opinion, encreaſed the ferment. A banditti of exterminators long paraded through the North in the moſt public manner, to the terror and diſmay of his majeſty's peaceable ſubjects, exerciſing with entire impunity every ſpecies of cruelty and rapine on the defenceleſs catholics of Ul-

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ſter; all applications to the Caſtle for redreſs or protection were fruitleſs; and this miſchief was tolerated for years, to the utter ruin of thouſands, and therefore not abſurdly ſuppoſed to have the ſecret ſupport and countenance of g——.

"The catholic peaſantry of Ireland finding no protection in the laws of the land, combined in their own defence, and thus two hoſtile aſſociations overſpread the kingdom; hence the facility with which republican principles have been propagated. Long might united Iriſhmen preach republicaniſm in vain to a nation deeply prepoſſeſſed with prejudices of the moſt inveterate kind, in favour of monarchy and hierarchy in their moſt deſpotic ſhape, if inſult and perſecution had not prepared their minds for innovation; if Jacobins harangued and wrote, it was g—— procured for them a partial and favourable audience. Thus republicaniſm, from being confined to a few ſpeculative men, through the crimes of a—— became the political creed of the nation.

"The ſecret committee pretends to have done wonders, by relating the technical forms of the organization, and a ſketch of the proceedings, with ſongs and ſymbols, &c. All this was matter of courſe, expected by thoſe who laid the foundation thereof. They modeſtly forgot how much the union was indebted to their own labours for its formation and extenſion. A diſcerning public will not ſuffer their modeſty to detract from their juſt praiſe; it ſees with regret, that the compilation is incomplete, until the hiſtory of two or three preceding ſeſſions of parliament, the exploits of Orange, and other military and civil agents are added by way of preface.

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" Aſcendancy prepared diſaſters for Ireland, and brought the empire into a ſituation full of danger and difficulty; and this return they make for the liberal conceſſions of England, which made their parliament nominally independent, but in reality only encreaſed the wages of the party, by bringing home, as they term it, all the great offices of ſtate, and creating a vaſt and novel patronage. Your pretenſions to retain this ſyſtem, at a time its incompetency has been proved to the world, are no leſs abſurd than unjuſt; it is abſurd to pretend to legiſlative independence, while you depend on our treaſure and armies for your very exiſtance. It is unjuſt you ſhould enjoy the encreaſed emoluments and honours flowing from that independence which you do not deſerve, becauſe you cannot maintain them.

" True, you have not been as yet overthrown; but how would ye have fared if left to yourſelves? It would be better policy not to have provoked the conflict. What language do you hold at preſent? You tell the Commons of Great Britain, you muſt ſupport us with your money and men, and yet you muſt not pretend to direct our councils; we muſt enjoy legiſlative independence. What kind of an Iriſh bull! independent dependance! As well might the ſenator pretend to independence, who lives by the price of his votes. When the claim of independence was firſt urged, we underſtood its merits; it was backed by a PATRIOT army of unbought and free citizens, who ſecured internal tranquillity more by the reſpect and gratitude their patriotiſm inſpired, than by the application of the bayonet. Your country was then ſtrong in the union of its inhabitants, happy at home, and

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reſpected abroad; ſecure againſt invaſion. Your government, while purſuing the career of patriotiſm, appeared every way equal to its functions; it did not come whining to us for ſupport, and complaining of the ſedition and treaſon of the people. With reverſed fortune, it becomes you to alter your language, and lower your pretenſions. You tell the people of Ireland ſupport a conſtitution, from a participation of whoſe rights and benefits you are excluded; ſupport the monopoly which cruſhes, degrades you, and makes you aliens on your native ſoil; ſupport that which makes contempt, ſlavery, and beggary your inheritance; ſupport that which brands you as unworthy to ſhare the benefits of civilized ſociety; and which, by ſtripping you of every degree of political conſequence, gives you as many tyrants as there are members of the privileged caſt.

"This is the hydra of great and petty tyrants, that claims your loyalty to its foul uſurpations, and deprives you of all ſort of influence that might ſecure you from oppreſſion, and make it the intereſt of men in, or aſpiring to power, to treat you individually or collectively with reſpect. Men in a free conſtitution are ſecure from oppreſſion, thro' the intereſt their fellow-citizens are likely to feel for their concerns, and this ſympathy muſt reſult from ſome common intereſt, as the community of rights; common rights producing a common diſpoſition to ſupport thoſe rights, or favour conferable by the exerciſe of ſuch rights, as voting, pleading, &c. Thus in a well regulated ſyſtem of freedom there is a chain of mutual dependance from top to bottom, that connects all the parts by the ties of mutual intereſt, and prevents the leaſt from

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being treated with neglect, or oppreſſed by the greateſt; the king is obliged to court the commons, thoſe in their turn are obliged to court the people. If any freeman of the latter deſcription is injured, he has the ſympathy of his own order, and the ambition and deſire of popularity prevalent among the higher to protect him. But the unfortunates who ſuffer civil excommunication from the pale of theſe privileges, are ſubject to inſult and oppreſſion from all quarters; they are the helots, doomed to toil, torture, or death, at the pleaſure of their taſk-maſters. It is not merely by compariſon with the happier lot of their neighbour, that they muſt feel their ſlavery embittered, it is really aggravated by additional, and very ſubſtantial hardſhips, over and above what are incident to the ſubjects of an abſolute monarchy. Under an abſolute and enlightened monarch, the ariſtocracy is not allowed to cruſh the laborious claſſes to ſuch a degree, as would preclude them from the neceſſaries and comforts of life. Whatever advantage may fall to the lot of the induſtrious, is open alike to all. But with you every non-freeman feels himſelf preſſed by an ariſtocracy, or privileged caſt of his own trade and profeſſion; and from ſome profeſſions, or at leaſt their higher honours, he is entirely excluded.

"There is a gradation of ariſtocracies branching from the throne to the forty-ſhilling freeholder, ſqueezing him like the folds of the hydra, and cruſhing him to the earth. If maſters there muſt be, as Homer ſays, better have one than many:

Ουκ αγαθη πολυκοιρανιη εις κοιρανος εστω.

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With all these wrongs weighing them down, while you conceded a little, and left them room to hope for more in time, they supported you chearfully; then you called for free trade and independence, and you got it. England reaped this advantage from your union, as some compensation for them concessions, that she was not obliged to protect you either by sea or land; but on the contrary, received considerable aid from Ireland both in men and money. What on the other hand is the fruit of your present system, as impolitic as it is inhuman? Your weakness compels you to lean on England for support, and thus you contribute to paralize her efforts, engaged as she is in a most arduous struggle. Your haughty and insulting denunciation of eternal opposition to just claims, provoked general discontent, conveyed in language opprobrious and unmannerly; your measures of coercive violence, and organized banditti of exterminators and plunderers, fanned the flame into a civil war.

"Can it appear wonderful, if men thus goaded beyond the bounds of human bearing, should retaliate and commit excesses? They had not the nature or feelings of man if they did not. Under its present circumstances, you cannot guarantee the tranquillity of your injured country for a single twelvemonth, nor your own existence as a government, without powerful support from hence. During some future, if not the present French war, you are liable to be overthrown, and by your overthrow to bring great calamity on us all. Your system is burthensome for the present, replete with mischief and disgrace, and pregnant with the seeds of future destruction. Two other modes remain to be tried, a reform or an union.

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" Since my entrance into office, I had always ſtrong objections to reform, becauſe I began to view things in a new light; but more than ever ſince the French revolution. I now think that a reform would only give the republicans a purchaſe, that would enable them to overthrow the conſtitution. So much for reform in general. As to a reform in Ireland, it would be attended with the further inconvenience of leading to the ſeparation of the two countries. Perhaps alarming as ſuch an event might ſeem to ſome people, it would be better for England than your preſent condition. Some politicians are wont to frighten themſelves with the conſequences of Iriſh independence; they dread much from the commercial rivalry of that favoured country, poſſeſſing the full command of its natural reſources, and having expatiated on the fertility of her ſoil, the goodneſs of her climate, her numerous bays, harbours, and rivers, her mines, population, cheapneſs of labour and proviſions; they aſk, how could England ſupport the competition? Theſe are the idle fears of ſhallow or intereſted men. Her wealth and luxury would put an end to relative cheapneſs, and make her the better market for our commodities.

" Our rivals the French are, in time of peace, our beſt cuſtomers, preciſely becauſe they are, after Britain, the wealthieſt nation in Europe. Even a connexion of reciprocal intereſt would cement the ſiſter iſlands, in a manner more beneficial to both than the preſent. Ireland would then feel herſelf intereſted to preſerve England from being over-run by the arms of France, on the principles of ſelf-preſervation, and the efforts of a people become wealthy and powerful, and acting on a

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conviction of juſtice and neceſſity would be more formidable. The union of nations connected by the ſtrong ties of mutual intereſt has proved laſting and beneficial to both parties.

"But let us, for the preſent, diſmiſs theſe views of the ſubject, and conſider the only remaining alternative, viz. an incorporation with Great Britain, and weigh the probable conſequences. At a moment when the great ſtates of Europe are already overgrown in power and territory, it is not for Great Britain to ſit down ſupinely, and ſuffer the diſmemberment of her empire; 'tis rather her policy to incorporate more intimately the circumjacent, and, as it were, the domeſtic members thereof, by drawing cloſer the ties that unite them; this will enable her to protect diſtant ſettlements, and invigorate public credit, by giving additional ſecurities to the public creditor. It will occaſion an influx of wealth into England by the concourſe of rich proprietors, who will reſort hither in crouds from your ſide the water, as the great mart of ambition, elegance, buſineſs, and pleaſure. Finally, it will form an additional barrier againſt the dangerous ſpirit of innovation, by throwing an hundred additional members into both houſes, entirely devoted to the miniſter of the day, which will enable me to apply the redundancy of influence not wanted for the ſervice of the current year, to the formation of a ſinking fund of patronage, towards purchaſing the remaining Jacobinical parts of the conſtitution. Ireland, ſubject to military government, will become a convenient barrack to awe the ſpirit of Jacobiniſm in this country, in caſe it attempts any thing; for theſe reaſons, both government and people will chearfully accept the union.

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" As for the consequences likely to resultto Ireland from the measure, that you must acknowledge is matter of very secondary consideration, since that conquered country ought, in all reason, exist solely for our benefit. Let her enjoy her religious quarrels, the sanguinary rage of her factious. What more would she have? Does she not possess Orangemen, and defenders, and rebels, and loyalists, protestants, papists, presbyterians, swadlers, &c. &c. Are not all these indulged in the comfortable satisfaction of cutting each other's throats for the love of God, and the virgin Mary, and her sister Biddy, or for church or king, as they like best? How unreasonable to grumble after such concessions! with her hands full of such salutary works, your people can never feel the want of employment. The superabundant hands that may be spared from the martial and honourable sport of murder, man-hunting, and ravishing, may attend the flocks that fatten for the English market. We shall have no objection to fill the ranks of our fleets and armies with them. I do not prohibit our manufacturers and capitalists from settling among you, if they chuse to trust their lives and fortunes among the wild Irish. Your farmers shall have to deal only with agents, stewards, and middlemen, instead of the proprietors, which must redound very much to their satisfaction, as they have long experienced the lenity of the former description of masters."

Here ended the consoling logic of Thaumoturgus. To which John Paddy, speaker, replied in the following manner:

" And is it thus yon reward your faithful servants, the loyal ascendancy or orangemen? Is it for this we risqued our lives and fortunes, and in fact shed

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our blood and ſquandered our properties? For you, ungrateful England, we have oppreſſed our country, deluged it with the blood of its inhabitants, overrun it with fire and ſword for your intereſt, and to gratify your hereditary hatred to the Iriſh name and nation, we have rekindled the decaying ſpirit of bigotry. Wherefore have we armed neighbour againſt neighbour, friend againſt friend, relative againſt relative, with rage unparalleled, and put arms into their hands to aſſaſſinate, and burn, every plebeian uninitiated; to raviſh their wives and daughters, burn their houſes, &c. Wherefore have we ranſacked the Engliſh language for epithets of reproach and contumely, to rouze an irritable people to exceſſes, and when they did not anſwer the wiſhed-for purpoſe, did we not reſort to acts of legiſlative deſpotiſm, which proving inadequate, we adopted the deciſive meaſure, by ordering military execution on the people? Oh! ungrateful John Bull! have we not always acted as your faithful garriſon, retaining Ireland in your chains for your profit, enabling you to deprive it of trade, manufactures, and national government; to turn it into a draw farm for the ſupply of your navy and your markets; to drain it of men and money at your good pleaſure? Have we not faithfully and aſſiduouſly co-operated with you, in deviſing ſuch laws as might reduce them to a ſtate of poverty, barbarity, and ignorance, by depriving them of the means of induſtry, and rendering its acquiſitions inſecure, by cloſing againſt them the avenues of education, of preferment and wealth? Could you contrive more effectually to accompliſh this, than by the ſuppreſſion of printing and inſtruction in the national language? well knowing that before a whole peo-

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ple can maſter a ſtrange idiom, and renounce their vernacular tongue, many generations muſt paſs away, during which interval, the want of books and inſtruction muſt reduce them to complete ignorance. For the ſame laudable end, we ſuppreſſed their colleges, and made it penal for them to ſtudy abroad. Further, leſt by any clandeſtine means they ſhould labour to reach the prohibited fruit of knowledge, we ſtrengthened our forementioned proviſions, with incapacitating ſtatutes, diſqualifying for the exerciſe of the profeſſions, in which learning and ability are diſplayed to advantage; thus cutting off every motive that can ſtimulate induſtry, or conduct men to eminence in the career of literature and ſcience.

"Do we deſerve no credit for thoſe ingenious methods of barbarizing mankind, unparalleled in the annals of the world? All this we have achieved for your ſake, that you might the more eaſily retain them in bondage, fleece and oppreſs them with impunity; for you know that knowledge is power, and ignorance is impotence. If Ireland be this day your foot-ſtool (to uſe a ſcripture phraſe) your piſs-pot, or whatever elſe you chuſe to make it; if you may ſafely treat its inhabitants as the vileſt of ſlaves, whip them like dogs, ſhoot, or hang, or baſtile, or condemn them to the gallies, agreeably to your good pleaſure, to our labours you ſtand indebted for this eminent gratification!

"Oh! were that deſpiſed people enlightened and united, nor you, nor any power on earth could tread them down on their native ſoil with impunity. Without us, and our forefathers of glorious memory, their commerce would vie with your own. I appeal to your own writers on commerce for the

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truth of this assertion. Her fleets and armies would make her formidable; witness her natural advantages of every kind. She would now, as formerly, be foremost in science. Arduous indeed was the task of extirpating literature entirely from among them, for the very lowest and poorest of the wretches have a strange hankering after learning, not to be found among the same description any where else; and, what is scarce less alarming, they have a singular capacity too for scientific pursuit. To pick up a little learning, there is no hardship to which they will not submit, nakedness, hunger, and toil.

"Is Ireland this day a prey to bigot fury, sanguinary politics, and religious faction? It is ascendancy challenges the merit of lighting up the torch of discord. After having prepared the elements of confusion and civil strife, by an elaborate well connected system of persecuting statutes and oppression, religious bigotry, the sure and ready instrument of civil disunion, would, ere now, have been extinguished, but for the fostering care of intolerance, which plied it constantly with its proper food, ignorance and hatred. Persecution sours the mind, provokes resentment and violent aversion to the opinions and persons of the persecutors, and disqualifies it for dispassionate enquiry. Opinions pretended to be enforced in that unwarrantable manner, have no chance of a fair hearing, or impartial examination, while ignorance renders the investigation nearly impossible; the sufferers are prompted naturally enough to reject the instruction that comes accompanied with malice and oppression, because the interest of truth and virtue cannot inspire the injustice which they condemn.

"Thus placed in the hostile relation of Tyrant

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and Slave, of perſecutor and perſecuted, one ſide claiming a monopoly of the good things of this world in favour of their ſtate religion; the other arrogating to themſelves the excluſive enjoyment of the kingdom come, as the reward of their preſent miſery. A coalition durable as ſincere between parties thus inflamed againſt one another, by the conflict of intolerance, and the conflict of intereſts, is not to be apprehended. For theſe and nameleſs other ſervices, you now propoſe to requite us, by robbing us of our expected rewards, juſt as we were proceeding to entail on ourſelves and poſterity the offices, honours, and emoluments of church and ſtate, to the excluſion of ſuch even of the favoured ſect as had oppoſed our meaſures, at any time, through the monoploy of parliamentary repreſentation. What becomes of your honour and plighted faith, never to forſake us while we ſupported you? Alas! the Punic faith is revived once more! What! take from us that conſtitution, provided by the wiſdom of our anceſtors, for the accommodation of you and us, at the expence of the wild Iriſh! ah! if you feel no concern for the diſmay and deſpair that would attend the diſappointment of ſo many mercenaries, claiming the rewards juſtly due to their exertions againſt their country, in behalf of your ſupremacy, in hopes of finding their private account therein; at leaſt ponder on the miſchiefs that may reſult to yourſelf and to Britain, from ſo raſh and ungrateful a proceeding, your ſtaunch and zealous blood hounds, may be driven by reſentment, into an alliance with patriot rebels; for, let me tell you, Sir, oh ſure I need not inform you, that the men of our phalanx, however they may degrade themſelves by cruelty and

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treachery, they will not passively bear to be despoiled of the wages of prostitution and barbarity. Great crimes are seldom committed without great prospects of advantage. Men do not submit to lasting infamy for nothing. Traitors to their country, informers, spies, butchers of their fellow-citizens, ravishers of female honour, &c. stifle remorse, which the feelings of nature awaken even in them, by the powerful allurements of pleasure and gain. Minister to their passions and their vices; they will worship you in return; there is no crime so abominable they will not deliberately plunge into; command them to scalp or devour the corpses of those they murdered, to erect pyramids of sculls, &c. you shall be surprized at the alacrity of their obedience, provided the reward lag not behind. There have been instances of their biting the palpitating hearts of the slain, and exclaiming while they devoured the cannibal repast, *No food so sweet as the heart of a rebel.*

" But should they be cheated of their hire, none so untractable or vindictive; spite would make them patriots; Ireland would become free, and alas! soon rival the prosperity of opulent Carthage; you would never again find in that country any party so entirely adapted for instruments of your crushing and dividing policy; accustomed to tamper with conscience, which they sacrifice at the shrine of ambition and lucre, they are proof against its admonitions. They have learned, in the corrupting traffic of boroughs, corportions, parliament and law, to leave the pedantic rules of morality, to guide low grovelling mortals unversed in state affairs.

" There are, indeed, others of more rigid prin-

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ciples, good proteſtants, ſtaunch loyaliſts, ripe enough for any miſchief, for the *love of God*, and the good of their ſouls. Theſe may be retained at a trifling expence. But for the others, the deſigning and ſelfiſh partizans, who are not to be ſtimulated by empty ſounds, but calculate the profits of their crimes———(Here a gentleman preſent at the debate interpoſed)—" Come, come, Mr. Iriſhman, no independence, no republics; king, king, for ever; king is needful thing; king is God's vicar, Lord's anointed; anointed, do you ſee; biſhop pour oil upon his head; Iriſh wicked; very wicked; what! what! have no king! compoſe, magine king's death! force and arms! fooliſh Iriſh! Iriſh without king! no biſhop! no ſoul goes to heaven! he, he! no graſs grow, no corn; he! no meat or drink! all loſt; every thing dear, he! Engliſh people very good; fine, fine people; keep the kings upon the thrones; pay the great taxes; every guinea to the laſt, for the king, that make them all live; muſt hang the Iriſh! hang 'em up! he, he! Engliſh fight for king; pay for king: pray for king; ſing God ſave king; love king in their hearts; worſhip king. Americans good boys again; fight for king. What! what! loſe Ireland! no, no, muſt not loſe Ireland; there we have fine fat cows, great big cows; and clever bulls, Iriſh bulls! he, he! what ſay you, Pitt?

Hereupon the vizier addreſſing himſelf to the aſcendancy chief, " You, and your friends, and whoever elſe cannot ſafely be treated with neglect, ſhall be provided for; as for the rabble of your party, we may ſafely leave them to the management of their clergy, who will work them up to our purpoſes, by plying their ante-popiſh zeal with

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cauſtic doſes of controverſial invective." The bargain ſtruck; the cabinet broke up; and poor Ireland is loſt for ever!

It is then the duped aſcendancy bigots, will have cauſe to lament their fatal miſtake, when they ſuffered themſelves to be hallooed like blood-hounds, to worry their fellow-citizens, and cruſh the patriot ſpirit, for the gratification and benefit of their deſigning leaders, who now diſpoſe of them like ſo many head of cattle. In the articles of compenſation for bartering away irrecoverably the rights and proſperity of the country, they are forgotten, and left to ſhare its ruin and poverty, ſince they would not its greatneſs and independence.

Orangemen, take a proſpective view of the bleſſings you have prepared for yourſelves and your children. The proprietory of the kingdom gone to reſide in England, to attend the buſineſs in parliament, the court, &c. All who aſpire to the career of ambition and honour, or the pleaſures of elegant and rational ſociety, or the amuſement of a great court and capital; emigration will become the tone; and it will be quite unfaſhionable, odious, to reſide in Ireland; enough to give a fine bred lady the vapours. The vulgar provincialiſm of Iriſh airs, accent, &c. &c. will be avoided like the plague; to eſcape the ſlighteſt taint, or even ſuſpicion of it become an important concern; a permanent reſidence in London or Bath will be the indiſpenſible with every ſquire and ſquireſs who can afford it.

On the other hand, a beggared, deſerted province can have no inducements to retain the opulent, and ſuch as cannot afford the expence of that faſhionable country, will ſend their children thi-

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ther for education, or rather ſend their wives thither to be delivered, that their offspring may avoid the diſgrace of being born here, and educated quite free from any Iriſh impreſſions; untainted with the candour, affability, and hoſpitality that diſtinguiſhed that degenerate people; but trained up in the genteeleſt prejudices againſt every thing Iriſh, he will be early taught to treat the country of his fathers with injuſtice and contempt. Thus almoſt the whole rental of the kingdom will be ſpent in foreign parts, to enrich pampered England; trade and the arts, deprived of their cuſtomers, muſt follow; the capital will fall into ruin; agriculture will dwindle, &c. Population muſt waſte away, and reſign the ſoil to bullocks and ſheep. The vaſt ſums laid out in improving the capital, and its vicinity, in the conſtruction of canals, quays, bridges, roads, the melioration of harbours, rivers; in the encouragement of agriculture, arts, fiſheries; in the endowment of colleges, ſchools, hoſpitals, &c. is all loſt! expended in vain! all will become next to uſeleſs. The halls of the univerſity and the four courts will be ſilent; the budding gems of ſcience and genius will droop and die, and the future ſtate of Dublin may be compared to the ruin of Babylon, as predicted by Iſaiah. "And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the "beauty of the Chaldee excellency, ſhall be as "when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah; "it ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall it be "dwelt in from generation to generation; but wild "beaſts of the deſert ſhall lie there, and there "houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls "ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there, "and the wild beaſts of the iſland ſhall cry in

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" their desolate houses, and dragons in their plea-
" sant palaces, &c."

An expectation will be raised, that English capital and manufactures will find their way hither, enticed by the cheapness of provision and labour.

Very improbable indeed. There are far more powerful inducements to retain them at the other side; the vicinity of the great emporium of the world; the fountain of credit, trade, &c. &c. The mutual dependance and subserviency of all the arts and manufactures, each ministring to and borrowing from each, or necessary instruments, or useful hints, or ready circulation, &c. &c.

The manufacturer derives immense advantages from the co-oporation of all the parts that form the complex and stupendous fabric of English trade, capital and credit, which a man of known probity and ability may command almost to any amount; abundance of expert hands, and ingenious heads, the utensils, machinery, processes, &c. employed in high perfection, expeditious, cheap, and every day receiving new improvements; the habit of industry, sobriety and punctuality, prevalent among the laborious description; the general spirit of enterprize and commercial speculation, that turns every thing to account: these advantages more than counterbalance the difference in the price of labour and provisions, and enable the London or Birmingham manufacturer to undersel the German or Russian. Any branch exiled into Ireland, would suffer more by its separation from the living body, and vital circulation, and harmonious co-operation of all the co-members, the coefficient parts that constitute the integral frame of a flourishing commerce, than the

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trifling difference in the price of proviſion could poſſibly compenſate.

Great indeed muſt be the local temptations that could prevail on that calculating deſcription, to renounce the vantage ground of their poſition. What would provincialed Ireland have to offer? An impoveriſhed ragged population, with manners and habits not over-propitious to the commercial purſuits; obnoxious to the worſt prejudices of Engliſhmen; a country however fertile, drained by the tributary rents of a hoſt of abſentees, and cruſhed by a full participation of Engliſh debts, and taxes, increaſed with her increaſing inability to pay them; no home market; none of the co-operating trades, &c. &c. In the teeth of ſuch diſcouragements, will Engliſh manufacturers come to reſide among a people whom they have been taught to hate and deſpiſe from their infancy, and whom, when they are very liberal, they call *ſemibarbarous*; *deſtitute of induſtry*, *punctuality*, and even *honeſty*, *Credat qui velit non ego.* You will, Iriſhmen, gain an inundation of taxes, and tax-gatherers. No more.

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APPENDIX.

IT appeared eligible to delay publication, in order to notice an anonymous production in favour of Union, which common fame aſcribes to the pen of a Gentleman high in office. The matter and manner are ſuch as beſpeak the well bred ſcholar; and the quarter from which it has iſſued, leaves no doubt of the project being far advanced, and authorizes us to conſider ſaid performance as the beſt defence the meaſure would admit, beſide the *ultima ratio regum*, or the logic of canon law.

The Reader will find moſt of the arguments that bear directly on the ſubject anticipated in the foregoing pages. Admirable to think, that odious deteſtable thing called *Union*, is ſuddenly purified from all its unnatural foulneſs, by the regenerating breath of the Engliſh ſtateſman. The union of Iriſhmen for Iriſh and national purpoſes, is loaded

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with every opprobrious epithet that language or imagination could ſuggeſt; but the union of the ſame people with Britons, for the purpoſe of entailing everlaſting thraldom on their country to the lateſt poſterity, has, by that very circumſtance, received the expiatory *abſolvo te* of the cabinet, glittering in all the grace and gloſs of its new birth. It is the very Panaceum for all our complaints. Spilſbury's drops contain not more virtues.

Happy Ireland! did you feel the honour and felicity reſerved for you, in the cloſe embraces of your friendly, humane, candid, liberal neighbour, John Bull! One bleſſing this writer enſures to you in his name, as the firſt fruit of your cloſer connexion; hear his own words: *There would be no danger of Ireland growing too powerful hereafter.* Granted. From the temptations of power and wealth we would be ſaved, by the kind provident care of our new maſters. But then our *barbarous poor*, unpoliſhed people would be refined, &c. by our intimacy with the elegant, agreeable, ſocial, highly poliſhed Engliſh! ! ! What ſtrange tales we are deſtined to hear! Learn good breeding and politeneſs from the churliſh, growling, and ſelfiſh race of Engliſhmen!

If it be a characteriſtic of good manners to treat all neighbouring nations with rude inſolence, and foul mouthed contumely, there we might learn; we have had abundant ſpecimens of thoſe humane and polite Engliſh tutors, the ancient and modern Britons, Midlothians, Dunbartons, &c. &c. Their leſſons will not be ſoon forgotten, for they have been written in our blood, by fire and ſword, and all the rage of luſt, and plunder, and military execution. May God preſerve us hereafter from ſuch

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teachers of civilization, as Engliſhmen have invariably proved themſelves here. To civilize the *wild Iriſh* meant, in their language, to plunder and exterminate them. In the polite accompliſhments of boxing, ſwearing, gluttony, rudeneſs, unfeeling avarice, &c. they ſtand unrivalled. Take a ſpecimen of their elegant converſation and ſtile: *Nay, damn my eyes. God damn my eyes, face and noſe. I'll be damned if. God damn my bloody eyes,* &c. &c. &c. Such are the flowers which cocknified Iriſhmen may borrow to adorn our iſle!

However, did England ſurpaſs the courtly complaiſance of Italy, or the gay urbanity of poliſhed France, that were no reaſon why we ſhould ſurrender our national independence. We may borrow improvements from our neighbours, without becoming their ſervants. How would England reliſh the propoſal of being made a province to France, on the frivolous pretext of the ſuperior politeneſs of the latter?

We are told of the advantage of ſending our children beyond the channel for education. If that be any mighty privilege, we may enjoy it without that fatal meaſure; it would, in that caſe, grow to an alarming nuiſance, as ſtated in the foregoing pages. Trinity College might certainly abide the competition, as far as it depended on ſolid and extenſive learning, &c. But the ſeat of power and legiſlation, the ſource of honours and preferments, the ſplendid theatre of ambition, eloquence, &c. faſhionable ſociety, amuſements, &c. would draw moſt of our opulent families thither, and fix the education of youth of diſtinction excluſively there. The hundred frivolities to which the varying faſhion of the hour annexes the importance of firſt rate

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accompliſhments, ſo indiſpenſible for a young man, *du bel air*, would procure Engliſh education a decided preference; beſide the convenience of living near their relatives, of forming and cultivating early connexions with the Engliſh youth of diſtinction, of hearing the great models of parliamentary and legal elequence, &c. &c.

Then indeed might Oxford and Cambridge ſtile the Univerſity of Dublin *Our Silent Siſter*. Well but we are to have Iriſhmen in the Britiſh cabinet. and of courſe the policy of the empire is to receive a direction favourable to this country. The author means Engliſhmen poſſeſſed of Iriſh eſtates. Such there are already, without procuring any material benefit for us. Families domeſticated and reſident in England from generation to generation, can be denominated Iriſhmen in no other ſenſe than the above. There is one grand conſolation ſtill behind; the Engliſh are exceeding wealthy. So great is the redundancy of capital in that happy land, that they are at a loſs for objects of ſpeculation, in the whole wide range of univerſal commerce and war. Therefore, as they have more money than they know how to diſpoſe of, they will charitably employ part in draining our bogs, and reclaiming our mountains. Good-natured ſouls! Like the uſurer in Horace, they would ſcheme plans of rural improvement in December, and fly with their bags to 'Change-alley in January.

See the reaſons previouſly adduced, to prove that Engliſh capital would not flow ſo copiouſly upon us as ſome would perſuade. In fact the commercial enterprize of England will ſpeculate on our raw materials, as heretofore; but they will have no additional inducements to form ſettlements, or

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eſtabliſh manufactures among us. For the ſame reaſons they will be as ready to ſpeculate on the produce of France, Spain, or Turkey, &c. Commercial avarice knows no principle of preference but ſelf-intereſt.

To the arguments contained in the firſt part I would add, that a luxurious elegance prevails more and more in manufactures, calling forth the aid of Science and the fine arts; of chymiſtry, botany, painting, deſign, &c. A delicate attention to the naſcent variations in faſhion is neceſſary to their ſucceſs; on which account the vicinity of the court and capital is a weighty conſideration.

When Paddy got a free trade, it was confidently affirmed, that Engliſh capitals would be veſted in manufactures here. Theſe fond expectations proved deluſive, as no doubt, in the preſent inſtance, they will, if people are ſilly enough to reckon on them. Is it likely that increaſe of taxes, of price of labour, &c. will add to the inducements of eſtabliſhing? Here we touch on the grand benefit we may certainly expect to reap from the projected union: a bountiful dividend of the *moderate* taxes and debt of England; our full proportion of no leſs a ſum than *five hundred million!* which, for aught we can ſee, may increaſe to a thouſand millions before the concluſion of this neceſſary war, if public credit can laſt ſo long.

The ſupporter of union tells us, how deſirable it would be for a young merchant, to be admitted to a ſhare in the firm of a wealthy extenſive trader. It might be ſo, if the firm were unincumbered, and the terms fair and reciprocal. But if the great trader were incumbered with debts beyond his ability, and the terms were the complete ſubjection

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and dependance of his associate, I for one cannot see the policy of joining his moderate, but comparatively unincumbered estate, to the splendid bankruptcy of his haughty neighbour, on the dishonourable terms of vassalage, and menial servitude to himself and heirs for ever. Were the prospects of lucre less equivocal, still I would not advise the surrender of our independence, our birth-right, for a mess of pottadge; but to fling away both honour and interest at a stroke, would be something worse than the Irish blundering bulls we are accused of. Honour cannot be separated from interest, it constitutes the out-works and rampart of every thing dear to the heart. In the language of Junius, "The feathers that adorn the royal bird, support him in his flight; strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth." Once you have surrendered your palladium, with the citadel of your independent legislature, you are at the mercy of every British minister, fit objects for experimental essays in the articles of government, taxation, &c.

The terms of the connexion may be new modelled, as it may suit the caprice or convenience of your masters, without your consent. It may be said we have a strong pledge in the good faith of Englishmen. Let the violated treaty of Limerick stand the perpetual, but not solitary record of their *good faith*; let the commercial restraints and other usurpations against the terms of our compact answer.

On surrendering our staple, the woollen and other branches, they promised us a monopoly of the linen manufactures. How have they kept terms dictated by themselves? By encouraging this branch both in England and Scotland; by pur-

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chaſing immenſe quantities of Ruſſian and German linens, &c. Nay, the very act of incorporating Ireland would amount to a breach of the publie faith with Scotland, by deſtroying the proportional weight of its repreſentatives in the legiſlature. Let keen-eyed Scotland look to that point.

A further advantage we are promiſed from the union, tranquillity and ſecurity of property. This ſeems plauſible enough. It is taken for granted, that the factions here will be quiet when they have nothing to ſcramble for; when every object of ambition and emulation is removed far away. This is aſſuming the prophetic tone. Who can tell us what the conſequence would be of publie diſcontent repining at loſt independence? We have ſeen two rebellions in Scotland ſince the union took place, which ſhould compenſate the loſs of independence with perpetual tranquillity.

Prithee, is it from the rioters of Weſtminſter, or Lord Gordon's proteſtant mob, the Iriſh are to imbibe the meek ſpirit of ſubordination to the laws? Moſt aſſuredly, England has not taught the nations the leſſon of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; the ſpirit of independence which ſhe formerly attempted to ſubdue in America, and now combats in France, is her own legitimate offspring; to their credit be it remembered, the Engliſh of yore would neither crouch to kings nor prieſts, regarding all ſuch public officers, by whatever name decorated, as publie ſervants, reſponſible for their miniſtry, and liable to be caſhiered for miſconduct, as they frequently were. So much for the ſpirit of meek obedience we are, it ſeems, to learn from a cloſer connexion with that mettleſome people. Here follows what the writer thinks a dexterous at-

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gument. In consequence of the union Ireland must rise to the level of English opulence, or England must sink to the level of Irish poverty; ergo, Ireland must become as rich as England. I deny the consequence. The disproportion between the two countries may happen to be encreased, not diminished by the measure. Wales has not risen to the level of England, nor Jamaica, nor Barbadoes, nor the Isle of Man; and Old Sarum is a good deal behind London, notwithstanding the statistic levelling power of legislative unity.

Having exhausted his rhetoric on topics applicable to us as a nation, the writer descends to those minor interests that divide our factions, religious or political. On these particulars he dwells with the fervor and complacency natural to a man eager to carry his point; and conscious of the strong ground on which he stands, he addresses party feelings with a considerable degree of dexterity, well knowing that on their operation he must ultimately rely for the success of his scheme.

Sorry am I to confess, that on this ground he is a formidable opponent; not from the intrinsic evidence or force of his reasoning, but from the infatuation and unhappy temper of the times; disclaiming the inhuman motive of reviving and inflaming the recent animosities of party, yet he contrives to touch on all the subjects of strife that have divided and laid waste this unhappy country. I felt humbled when I perused that crafty appeal to those passions that disgrace, and must, if not checked, extinguish us as a nation. The people are degraded indeed, to whom such language and reasoning are applied; with the view of inducing them to abdicate their independence, and part

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with the precious dear-bought privilege of legislating for, and taxing themselves; they are supposed the most infatuated bigots that ever disgraced the earth, incapable of bearing with each other, must be bent on each other's destruction, and therefore incompetent to the functions of legislation, instead of enjoying the least particle of freedom.

In the first part of this pamphlet, the causes that perpetuate the hostility of sects have been, I trust, elucidated to the satisfaction of any candid enquirer. It appeared that not difference of religion, but opposition to interest, immortalizes bigotry. That any general description of men, selected as objects of civil disfranchisement, penalties, and persecution, and marked out as objects of hatred and scorn, whether on account of any peculiarity of tenets, religious or political, or any distinguishing features, whether of colour, stature, &c, would by that very circumstance be embodied into an hostile cast, and the reaction of bigotry, direct and reflected, would preserve the seeds of hatred, until the cause be removed. Black men, and white men, and red men will answer the purposes of the old tyrannic policy, *divide & impera*, as well as religion. England and France, almost every state in Europe, have been at some period or another the theatres of religious factions; they have all in their turns been convulsed by the sanguinary fury of contending bigotry. This truly evil and irreligious spirit has either vanished, or been quelled in other countries; why may we not be permitted to hope for our own, the radical cause of all the mischief? The ascendancy of priests over the civil power has declined, and is declining; the extinction of both is retarded

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among us solely by the arts of Britain. Oh! ill-natured selfish Britain! how long will you distract us by your base intrigues? How long will your unworthy policy arm sect against sect, friend against, friend, neighbour against neighbour, in unnatural parricidal warfare? Will you never cease bribing one party with a pittance of the common spoil, to hold in shameful subjugation and ruinous restraint the other and more numerous portion?

The abettor of union asks, Why may not Britain, if she chuses, adopt the catholic instead of the protestant, as the instrument of her supremacy over Ireland? A very fair question. Pity he has not thought proper to solve it. It will not be advanced by any one in the least conversant with ministry, their opinions, or motives of conduct, that their religious prejudices determine the preference. No. They have associated with popish priests, emigrant and non-emigrant, with the pope and Turk, and would as cordially with his Satanic majesty, if he displayed *vigour* and *decision* in favour of the common cause. What then has entitled protestants to the disgraceful partiality of British policy, and qualified them to be the undoers of the land of their birth? I answer; the single circumstance of their being the minority; were they the majority, they would feel as a nation; for the honour and independence of their country, no paltry dividend of the spoils of an impoverished and enslaved country would prevail on them to sacrifice their rights, and forego their far more ample, honourable, and safe portion of the natural wealth and prosperity, which the bounteous nature of the soil, and its happy situation almost forces on them, in spite of the unwearied exertions of counteraction; they would

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[illegible] arithmetic is equally true [illegible], that the half of a pound is better than the whole of a shilling; and that a shilling honestly earned is better than a pound obtained unjustly.

The artificial power of government, supported by the power of numbers, would command respect, and make it unsafe to intrude upon their dignity or interest. This explains why numbers and power, property and no property, must be opposed to each other. The rich monopolizing nation is jealous of our natural advantages, she dreads our rising prosperity and greatness; the natural resources she cannot extinguish, she labours to render them useless to us, and that unworthy purpose she can accomplish only through our divisions.

Alas! cruel England! take away your nonsensical ascendancy, your unjust monopolies, your vile machinations; leave us to the cool and sober reflection of our judgments; then we shall have equal rights, equal laws, a common interest, and a common country. Those distinctions that are preserved only because they furnish pretexts and objects of injustice, will gradually melt away, and be dissolved by the breath of reason and philanthropy; then Christianity will not be disgraced by the horrid excesses of its votaries; excesses that argue more against it than a thousand syllogisms; no good tree bringeth forth bad fruit, &c. Why should England dread the prosperity of Ireland? Would she not benefit more from its wealth than from its poverty? Is not her commercial intercourse productive in the ratio of the opulence of her customers? But she would apprehend rivality, on collision of interest. Be just and fear not. Who thinketh no evil, suspecteth none. Rivality within

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the bounds of juſtice, is ſalutary to nations and individuals; why dread hoſtile colliſion? Has not Ireland a ſimilar intereſt with Great Britain, to preſerve the balance of power, and oppoſe the lawleſs aggrandizement of any given power? Her conduct might ſurely be truſted to the impulſes of intereſt, duty, and good ſenſe. Why not command the ſervices of Iriſhmen through their feelings, their gratitude, their ſenſe of propriety and honour? My countrymen, I truſt, are not deſtitute of theſe exalted feelings, nor diſqualified to liſten to their nobler ſuggeſtions. The line of true policy is before you; it lies in the ſtraight path of honeſty, not in the windings of ſtate treachery. Miniſters however are too cunning to purſue the ſafe path of integrity; they muſt diſplay vaſt ingenuity in governing by dexterous trick and ſubtle management; or indulge their deſpotic humours, by reſorting to the clumſy and miſchievous inſtrument of coercion. They love to govern by crooked means, and too much (let them not deceive themſelves) ſound policy can never be ſeparated from ſtrict honeſty.

By the eternal decree of ſovereign righteouſneſs, iniquity never fails to defeat itſelf, and ſooner or later reaps in diſgrace and ruin what it has ſown in malice and deceit. By the ſame adorable power it is ordained, that the inſtruments and objects of crime become, in their turn, and in due ſeaſon, the inſtruments of puniſhment. He has read hiſtory to very little purpoſe, who has not ſeen theſe eternal truths diſplayed in the ſtory of the nations, whoſe records have been tranſmitted to poſterity.

But to return to our union. He has recourſe to the ſtate bugbears, about the inſecurity of proteſ-

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tant property lay and clerical, ſhould the catholics ſucceed in their demands. His arguments amount to this. Nine-tenth of the property is in the hands of the proteſtants; the catholics are more numerous, therefore if the houſe of commons were thrown open to them, they would there have the majority, and ——what and?——Will you gueſs, courteous reader? Why they will proceed immediately to ſtrip themſelves of their own property, for the great majority of ſuch catholics as could pretend to the honour of a ſeat, derive from them very proteſtants, either by leaſe or purchaſe, their titles to their actual poſſeſſions. In favour of whom would they make this unprecedented ſacrifice? Where is the rightful heir? Fion Mac Cuil, or Goll Mac Morna O'Nial, or Mac Cuirnay? We ſhould enquire into the titles of the Mileſians themſelves; ancient as they were, the iſland was occupied before them. In all conſcience, we ſhould aſcend to the preadamites! It is ſhameful to obtrude ſuch exploded nonſenſe on the patience of the public. When the catholics formed the majority in as well as out of parliament, they attempted no ſuch thing. When they had it very much in their power, and confiſcations were recent, enormous, and in many inſtances flagitious robberies, the rightful owners were in great part then living; yet no intreaties on their part, no, not the tears, and ruin, and deſpair of ſo many reſpectable families of their communion, deſtroyed by Strafford of infamous memory, could induce them to oppoſe the royal authority, though ſo proſtituted to their ruin; fearing from the republican temper of Britain, the conſtitution might be deſtroyed by their endeavours for redreſs; they periſhed in ſupport

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of the British conſtitution, as the Vendeans have done in our day, in ſupport of their king. Is it probable thoſe who did not avail themſelves of their ſuperior opulence, numbers, and majority in the legiſlature, to conteſt the recent titles to forfeited eſtates, that the ſame, I ſay, with nothing in their favour but numbers, ſhould revive chimerical nonentities, to the unhinging their own ſecurities? But ſtill farther, it is utterly impoſſible they can have a majority, nor even any thing approaching to an equal number in the legiſlature, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed, that one hundredth part of the national property can have more influence than the remaining ninety nine.

It is aſſerted by men of undoubted weight, that univerſal ſuffrage would not free us from undue influence at elections. In theſe tranſactions men are guided by their temporal, not ſpiritual intereſts. Farmers would generally vote for their landlords, and artizans for their employers, without minding their catechiſms. I know of no ſhopkeeper who would bate a farthing in the price of his goods, in conſideration of his cuſtomers religion. The leſs party diſtinctions are noticed by law and policy, the leſs will men be influenced by them in their dealings with each other. It is notorious, that the republicans would conſider the conceſſions of the catholic emancipation and reform as the moſt compleat defeat. Rightly judging the preſent conſtitution would be ſtrengthened by the coalition of catholic and proteſtant intereſts. If they liſtened to republican doctrines, it was becauſe their demands of incorporation was ſcouted with diſdain, and the refuſal accompanied with a denunciation of eternal oppoſition to future conceſſions. This proceeding

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was not politic, becauſe neither wiſe nor honeſt; they ſhould have remembered, that in Pandora's box hope was left at the bottom. Heated by the conteſt, and by the ſpirit of the times, deſpairing of their rights through the conſtitution, they hearkened to theſe republican doctrines, which have no very natural alliance with their eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions. It was not the ſociety in Back-lane, but the ſociety in College-green that gave the rapid impulſe to the great majority of Iriſhmen towards democracy. The meaſures then rejected would ſtill prove ſalutary; it is never too late to act rightly. But ſhould it be given up as impracticable, I ſee no alternative but an union. It is proved that danger to the proteſtant intereſt is chimerical.

1ſt. Becauſe the catholics have not the will, when they had the power, and the claimants were living, and the juſtice of the claims evident in numerous inſtances, and the aſſertion of thoſe claims popular and plauſible. They acquieſced in the tranſfer of property; and now, that all circumſtances are reverſed, and their power, even with a full participation of rights, but a fraction in the ſtate, who but an ideot would apprehend any danger from their emancipation, with a proteſtant king, and lords, and a majority in the commons, from the neceſſary influence of property, in the proportion of at leaſt ten to one, and the probability that a catholic ariſtocracy would make common cauſe with their proteſtant colleagues and compeers, in preference to democracy of their own perſuaſion? If any ſuch principle could ſurvive the reſtoration of the conſtitution, as I am certain it could not, I can ſee no danger in emancipation and reform, but much cauſe of apprehenſion, in leaving the people

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of Ireland diſcontented either with or without an union.

As for the danger to the church eſtabliſhment, it cannot proceed from the catholics, as we have ſeen, it is only by proteſtants that it can be overturned. A modification of tithes, which is now held forth as a rider to the union, would, without ſuch a meaſure ſatisfy the public on that head, and ſecure their livings to the clergy. The queſtion, in that caſe, would reſt entirely between the incumbent and the landlord; the intereſts of agriculture would not be affected; but let them look to the conſequences of an union. What muſt diminiſh population, and the value of land, cannot add to the value of their livings.

As to the queſtion of eſtabliſhments, as neceſſary to the preſervation of religion, the hiſtory of religion is the beſt ſolution. Chriſtianity was propogated independent of ſecular rewards; it owes nothing to eſtabliſhments, but abuſes that have corrupted it. The diſſenters and catholics have ſubſiſted without ſtate alliance; why not the church of England? It is conferring very little honour on that true religion, to ſuppoſe it cannot be preached or believed, unleſs ſupported by temporal power, and large bribes to teachers and believers. What a frail bantling muſt it be, not to endure the wholeſome climate of equal juſtice, and impartial enquiry? No, it muſt be ſwathed in flannels; nurſed by the ſtate, kept very warm and comfortable in the ſoft lap of luxury; pampered with goodies; ſtill the ricketty creature keeps ſqualling, alarming the family, its life is always in danger. But it would be leaving religion to chance to, deprive it of eſtabliſhment. How long will man be more cun-

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ning than his maker? He that framed human nature, knew how to adapt his revelation to its wants and capacities; and truſted to its native beauty, ſimplicity, internal evidence, and powerful appeals to the beſt feelings of our nature, for its efficacy and undecaying virtue. Surely this was not throwing it abroad like a deſtitute orphan, deriving a precarious exiſtence from caſualty. A religion of human invention, muſt depend upon human policy for its ſhort-lived exiſtence. Every plant that my heavenly father hath not planted ſhall be rooted out. The repeal of the teſt act is maintained as another inconvenience attendant on reform. Where could be the mighty harm, if parliament had nothing to do with voting creeds, forming teſt acts, or inflicting penalties on non-conformiſts? Parliament owns it fallibility in ſpiritual concerns. Is it not inconſiſtent with that confeſſion, to aſſume dominion over men's conſciences, and puniſh them for not believing what may chance to be erroneous? In the ſcience of taxation they may claim precedence of the council of Trent, the pope's conclave, or the convocation; but the art of creed-making, or voting articles of faith, ſhould be relinquiſhed to thoſe whoſe peculiar profeſſion qualifies them for the office. One might be a good member of parliament, and an honeſt man, though he ſhould believe an article more or leſs than thirty nine.

Laſtly, he addreſſes himſelf to the Iriſh legiſlature in terms which, from any other quarter, would be treated as ſeditious. He reproaches them rather in oblique terms with venality and corruption; with ſacrificing the intereſts of their conſtitution to thoſe of England; he ſays they were at leaſt liable to the imputation. That may be true, but that is a

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reaſon for reform, not for abolition. How would the Britiſh legiſlature reliſh ſuch logic? Muſt it too be aboliſhed? Undue influence is imputed to it. This ſeems ſomewhat Jacobinical; it ſounds peculiarly hard and ungracious, as coming from the ſame quarter whence the ſeduction and bribe originated; it is imitating the tempter of mankind, who is ſaid to be the accuſer of ſuch as he allures into his toils. *The connexion has been tried in various ſhapes, and has invariably been found inadequate to the purpoſes of good government. Therefore we ſhould try the effect of an union.* Fine logic! our partnerſhip with Britain has hitherto proved diſaſtrous, therefore we ſhould reſign the entire management of our affairs into her hands. A different concluſion might be drawn by the ſame, viz. and therefore we ſhould break up the partnerſhip, for if we were cheated and robbed while we were co-managers, through the purchaſed negligence or treachery of our clerks, what chance remains of juſtice when the ſole and excluſive ſtewardſhip is veſted in our fraudulent partner, without any obligation of rendering an account? Another alternative remains, viz. to amend the terms of the connexion, and employ honeſt clerks, who will give good ſecurity, and render a faithful account of their dealings. A long ſtring of precedents is preſented to us at the outlet, of ſome nations who united, and others who ſeparated. That was their concern. They might do ſo or let it alone, as beſt ſuited their fancy. In no inſtance alledged, were the parties uniting ſeparated by an eternal, and often dangerous barrier, as we are. What moſt ſurprizes me in this collection of precedents, is to ſee French fraternization quoted as a fit precedent to juſtify the union. From the uſual

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language of miniſters, one ſhould be led to think, that French rapacity furniſhed topics for reproach, not models for the imitation of our principled ſtateſmen. Their quarrel now appears to be not with the deed, but the agent; yet the French themſelves have dealt more liberally with their allies; they left to the Dutch, Helvetic, and Ciſalpine republics, their ſeparate exiſtence, legiſlatures, and directories, &c. Legiſlators of Ireland, you are called upon to abdicate your ſtations, on the plea of diſhoneſty, or incapacity, or both. Will you plead guilty? will you ſubmit? Shame upon you if you deſpair of reſuting the charge, by one honeſt effort; by removing the cauſes of complaint; by reforming the ſyſtem which ſubjects you to thoſe imputations. The fault lies there rather than in the individuals. Remember that the honour and dearest intereſts of yourſelves and country are now in your hands; beware how you tranſfer the power over theſe mighty concerns to foreign hands; you cannot lawfully overturn that conſtitution, with the temporary adminiſtration of which you are ſolely inveſted; you cannot vote away the franchiſe which has created you, nor decree that as a province, you have received as an imperial independent kingdom, no more than the Engliſh parliament can vote England an abſolute monarchy, or decree an union with France.

FINIS.

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THE

SECOND PART

OF

TAAFFE's REFLECTIONS

ON THE

UNION.

The author discusses the leading arguments employed in favour of the measure.

He also takes a view of the actual state of England, it's Constitution, Resources, Prospects, &c.

BEFORE WE ENTER INTO THE FIRM OF A HOUSE, IT'S PROPER TO TAKE A PEEP AT THE LEDGER.

Dublin:

PRINTED BY JOSEPH MEHAIN, 22, CASTLE-STREET.

1799.

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PREFACE

Since the year 1790, from the general aſpect of Europe, the probable effects of a general war againſt France, (which I then reckened certain) and the ſtate of parties here, eſpecially the atrocious commencements of the Orange rioters—I looked to an approaching ſtorm. There are many living who may remember my predictions at that early period. Until the year 1794, I was content with ſilently obſerving the progreſs of opinions and the movements of parties, only expreſſing in private converſation my apprehenſions of the impending criſis: at that period the ſymptoms grew too alarming, not to awaken the zeal of all that felt any regard for the public weal. Since the glorious æra of the volunteer aſſociation, the terms of the connexion having been improved, the ſyſtem of domeſtic government partook of the improvement. Some advances had been made in the emancipation of the people from odious ſhackles, and the country began to flouriſh in proportion, as they were encouraged to induſtry and enterprize, by the legal ſecurity of perſons and property. A period when the nation was called upon for extraordinary contribution in men and money, was thought favourable for the further enlargement of the people from their remaining reſtraints; it was argued, that the conceſſion of claims admitted as juſt and neceſſary to the proſpects of Ireland, advantageous in its reſults even to Britain, was due to the approved loyalty of Ireland, and highly expedient when the danger of French principles and the contagion of alluring theories, might be guarded againſt, by conceding the ſubſtantial and tried bleſſings of Britiſh laws and conſtitution—For awhile theſe conſiderations ſeemed to have weighed with the Britiſh cabinet: But the appearance was fallacious—Fitzwilliam with his promiſes of redreſs

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was played of as a ſtate juggle 1ſt, to divide and diſgrace oppoſition and obtain without debate prodigal grants of money; ſecondly, to inflame the people by raiſing their hopes and ſuddenly diſappointing them; thirdly, to exaſperate the aſcendancy faction, by the imminent danger of loſing their delegated tyranny, and thus prepare them by fear and reſentment for every deſperate extremity againſt their country. Pitt, the moſt immoderate lover of power that has ruled Britain, ſince the days of Oliver Cromwell, will never conſent to circumſcribe his preſent abſolute omnipotent authority, by a reform of the parliament. He is better pleaſed to find, in that auguſt aſſembly, a potent engine of deſpotiſm and plauſible maſk, than an effectual control and formidable tribunal—ſo far the advocates of union agree with me. Now he could not with any colour or conſiſtency, grant to Ireland, what he was reſolved to withold from England. When ſects and parties were thus inflamed againſt each other, and the aſcendancy worked up to fury, breathing revenge and extermination, in comes Camden, with refuſal, defiance, coercion and terror in his train: Then commenced a government of paſſion and revenge—a government of ſpies and informers—a government of blood-hounds and terroriſts. The ſubſequent events are too recent in the recollection of every one to need recital: it was clearly foreſee the ſyſtem of terror muſt lead to ſeparation or union. The miniſter, confident of his means and plans, and truſting in the irreſiſtable ſuperiority of his navy, hazarded the experiment, in hope of realizing that union, ſo long coveted by every Engliſh ſtateſman. He gladly, no doubt, ſeized the oppertunity afforded by the rancour of Iriſh factions, in order to terrify the advocates of freedom in England, by inflicting on a deſpiſed people all the calamities of civil war, and holding forth a terrible leſſon in the calamities and deſtruction of Iriſh patriots. I

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was among the foremoſt, if not the firſt, to detect the deep-laid plots of the Britiſh cabinent, and ſound the alarm.

In various publications I deſcanted on the evils my countrymen were preparing for themſelves, exhorting landlords to cheriſh tenantry and gain their confidence, and proving to all ſects and parties, that it was their beſt intereſt and duty, to ſacrifice party feelings at the ſhrine of their country, and to ſeek their intereſt and happineſs, where alone it could be found, in peace, concord, juſtice, &c. I laboured to arouze ſome ſenſe of patriotiſm, by glancing on the great natural reſources of this happy Iſland, contraſting the antient fame, and I will ſay, proſperity of independant Ireland, with its preſent degradation and wretchedneſs, and painting out the bright proſpects reſerved for us, if we knew our own conſequence or the value of our inheritance. As the danger approached, I redoubled my activity, and laboured inceſſantly by ſpeech and by writing, from the year 1794, until the preſent hour, to avert the calamities I ſo early foreſaw.

Bigotry, religious and political, was the chief obſtacle to our hopes, and hence to reſcue mankind from the ſoul enſlaving fetters of Empirics, became the primary concern of my life. Deſigning cheats who have an intereſt in prolonging the infancy of the human mind, its conſequent ſubjection to their will, and ſubſerviency to their ſordid intereſts, found means to halloo the multitude at me. By their aſſiduous and artful calumnies they ſucceeded in poiſoning the minds of all ranks to ſuch a degree, that in a land of frankneſs and hoſpitality almoſt all doors and hearts were ſhut againſt me. In every countenance I ſaw dark frowns; in every man I ſaw enmity. Conſcious however of the rectitude of intention, and of the paramount utility of the objects of my purſuit, I was not to be moved from my courſe by

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the frowns, or hatred, or perſecution of a congregated world—neither the CIVIUM ARDOR PRAVA JUBENTIUM or the VULTUS INSTANTIS TYRANNI. The only revenge I can take is to employ the ſlender ſhreds of my faculties, that have eſcaped anguiſh, ſickneſs and perſecution, in the ſervice of my perſecutors.

For their ſakes I have refuſed no danger or ſuffering, not hunger or thirſt, contumely, torture or death.—Why do I commemorate thoſe things? That you may learn the Chriſtian virtue of forgiving and loving your enemies. I claim neither gratitude or reward: Learn to love your country; reſpect yourſelves and England will reſpect you. Your friendſhip is neceſſary to her, and ſhe muſt purchaſe it if you are wiſe, at your own terms. You percetye how ſhe ranſacks Europe at preſent for allies, offering her guineas and navy as the reward of precarious co-operation. The Pope, King of Naples, America, Portugal and Holland have been curſed with their protection, without any great ſacrifices of their honour and intereſt to her pride and avarice. Come Iriſhmen of all deſcriptions; unite heart and hand againſt the deleterious union, that threatens our extinction as a nation. Think of your anceſtors, of yourſelves, of your poſterity, of the proſpects you would forfeit. Now or NEVER—the wiſdom and firmneſs of the Iriſh nation is put to the teſt.

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THE

SECOND PART

OF

TAAFFE's REFLECTIONS, &c.

THE firſt champion of union diſplays a ſingular inſtance of naivete, in acknowledging that England takes advantage of our unfortunate diſtractions, probably excited, certainly fomented by her own baſe intrigues, in order to wreſt from the hands of a diſunited people the paladium of their national independence, the pledge of their future hopes—the voucher of the appropriation of great natural means to national purpoſes, the elicitor and emporium of the talents and patriotiſm of Ireland—the guarantee of their honour and intereſt of their domeſtic proſperity and their rank among nations. This fatal blow is aimed at all our preſent ſtinted comforts and bright proſpects, by way of retaliation and revenge. Let him ſpeak for himſelf—"When therefore the enemies of the empire take advantage of a time of war to effect its ruin, we ſhould turn againſt them their own game, and make uſe of a time of war to eſtabliſh its ſecurity." We need no farther proof that the Engliſh themſelves conſider the meaſure as hoſtile; they

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they mean then to take advantage of the civil war into which we have been puſhed blindfold, in order to degrade, plunder, overwhelm us with taxes, and put us completely under their feet. He that could take the baſe ungenerous advantage of a conflagration to pillage his neighbour's property is capable of kindling the flames. If he ſhould come forward with a barefaced avowal of his intention to avail himſelf of ſaid neighbour's calamities for the traiterous purpoſe of effecting his ruin; if his unbluſhing effrontery betray him into the folly of publiſhing aloud the criminal breach of high truſt veſted in him as a kind of guardian and truſtee co-partner in buſineſs; if he make a public confeſſion of inveterate habits of fraud, peculation and open robbery—of having bribed the clerks and factors of ſuch houſe, of having involved the family in endleſs diſputes and inexpiable war, to their mutual deſtruction, for the malevolent ends of his own foul envy--the avowed purpoſe of preventing the "danger of their becoming too happy or powerful;" if his impudence reſort to the diſaſtrous conſequences of his own malignity, as arguments to perſuade the family of their incompetence to manage their own concerns, of the expediency of their ſurrendering to their inſidious foe, the firm and buſineſs of the houſe, and the abſolute dominion over their perſons and properties.

"Your agents," he ſays, "betray you conſtantly, purchaſed by my bribes; your children have been inflamed againſt each other, involved in exterminating rancour

by

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by my arts. I have deflowered the purity of your daughter and diſhonoured the nuptial bed; one party of your ſons I encouraged to cheat and bully the other; your deſtruction is inevitable if you dare refuſe compliance with the propoſal I now offer. Only ſign a deed, by which you are humbly to acknowledge yourſelf your COMPOS.

"Convey to me the uncontrouled diſpoſal of your lives and fortunes. Our connexion has hitherto been the bane and diſgrace of the family. You have long languiſhed in poverty, been diſtracted with endleſs broils; your children are ragged, uneducated, bent on mutual ruin, reared up chiefly to work for me, or to fight and box the neighbours, and plunder them for my amuſement and profit. 'Tis true, the rogues have promiſing parts, I have therefore kept them from going to ſchool, leſt they ſhould grow too knowing for me. Your farm is indeed much ſuperior to mine, in ſoil, climate and produce, watered like the paradiſe of God, bleſſed with ſhower and dew, flowing with milk and honey, better ſituated, more convenient for all markets. Theſe great natural advantages, unparalelled in any farm of equal extent in the univerſe, would make you greater and richer than me, if you had the ſenſe to call them into action. Hitherto I have been at much trouble, and you at much expence, to mar that proſperity which alarms my jealouſy, to ward againſt the danger of your becoming rich, enlightened, reſpectable and powerful. Believe me your ſtruggles muſt in future prove as unavailing

vailing as heretofore. I never tolerated proſperity in any family when I could blaſt it, much leſs in you my neareſt neighbour, and after Mr. French my moſt formidable rival. Come ſir, no murmurs; ſurrender, I ſay, directly; abdicate; let me hear no more of the honors and antiquity of your blood. Your dotage is the beſt proof of your age, and the ſtrongeſt argument for your acquieſcence in my juſt claims. Where are your brains, idiot? Is it not clear as the meridian ſun that yours muſt be the happieſt family alive, when you are ſubject to the unreſtrained ſway of him, whoſe influence though partially checked has hitherto worked your ruin? Do you not perceive that a liberal ſhare of my taxes, debt and bankruptcy is the ſhorteſt, ſureſt way of making a handſome proviſion for yourſelf and children. Rely upon my honour, ſince you never could upon my probity. Suffer the rents and profits and produce of your farm to be monopolized by me; your mines and wool, hides and butter, cattle, corn and all. Upon my honour, you may in that caſe feaſt on potatoes and ſalt, until you burſt, and now and then get drunk with whiſkey, as an antidote to ſober reflection—no great friend, I aſſure you, to our future alliance.

"What, you refractory knave, dare you grumble, when I aſſure you on the faith of an Engliſhman, that you ſhall be protected againſt the danger of becoming too great; that your raggamuffin, ſhabby, unmannerly brats ſhall be allowed the honour and felicity of approaching

ing our well-dreſſed, pampered boys, nay perhaps admitted to the honour of waiting on them, blackening their ſhoes, &c. Promoted they ſhall be, rely on it, either to have their throats cut, in our interminable quarrels with Mr French's family, or to the gallows or Botany bay, as exiſting circumſtances may require. Hold ſoldiers, the fellow is refractory, tie him up, ply him ſtrenuouſly with the cat o'nine-tails; when his back is laid bare, one bleeding wound like a raw beefſtake, baſte it plentifully with pepper, vinegar and ſalt; lay on I ſay, whip the raſcal to death; picket, hang, ſhoot his ſneaking, teaguiſh brood, for their ſaucy whimpering and whining about what they call their wrongs. Come on brave Willy, Orange and Blue boys, you know I treated you liberally with gingerbread, yellow and blue ribbons, &c. for ſlandering your parents, giving bloody noſes to your brothers and ſiſters. When you let me into every ſtore and warehouſe by means of falſe keys, to pilfer every valuable I could carry away, and deſtroy what I could not, I gave you cakes and whiſkey go leor. Spirit, my fine boys, batter that old beldame your doating mother, deliver her up tied hand and foot to me. That will prove your loyalty; 'tis betraying your own naughty family to me merits that title --be proud of it and finiſh the work you commenced ſo glorioufly. Then you ſhall be honoured with ſome ſituation about my houſe, ſome ſnug birth in my kitchen or ſtables." Laying aſide allegory, the proceeding of Britain toward Ireland is exactly delineated in the foregoing ſketch, as a brief review of the recent melancholy

tranſactions

tranſactions, that have caſt a gloom and a ſtain on the latter period of our ſtory will evince.

The impunity of depradation and outrage continued for years, without any interruption on the part of Magiſtracy, while the diſturbers publicly boaſted of favour and ſecret protection, which, at leaſt by ſilence, and its connivance, and the entire impunity granted to the offenders, in ſpite of many ſtrong remonſtrances in Parliament, and private applications, backed by reſpectable authority, ſupported on the irreſiſtable evidence of notorious facts, ſufficiently acknowledged the alliance. If it further appear, that the ruling party looked to diſſention as the ſureſt prop of their monopoly, and abhorred the union of the people as the moſt dangerous foe to their diviſion of ſpoil and deſpotic miſrule, would it not become extremely probable that they would enliſt in the views of the Britiſh Miniſter to promote diſunion and ſtrife, in order to perpetuate their own power? They could not but deteſt that union of the people, which turned them out of office. Heated by colliſion, exaſperated by recent defeat, is it not likely they would ſtop at nothing to deſtroy the inſtrument of their defeat, to gratify reſentment for the paſt, and ſecure the monopoly of power and emolument for the future? Would they heſitate to overſtep the boundaries of juſtice and mercy? They have already violated the firſt duty of all governments, that of protecting the unoffending citizens from lawleſs violence, and thereby became accomplices in the crimes they tolerated. They could

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could not be ſuppoſed to ſubmit to the imputation of moſt heinous crimes without ſome ſpecific object. Their intereſt in diſunion was palpable, their connivance made their concurrence probable, when that connivance was at the expence of the duty they owed their maker, their country and their king. Their public ſilence acquieſced in the charge loudly proclaimed by the banditti, and left room to ſuſpect that the private treaty thus boaſted by the Orangemen, was ſecretly ratified by ſome ſtronger aſſurance than mere connivance. Their factious intereſt lay that way, and their characters and conſciences were never deemed by them heavy ſacrifices. Their venality and treachery to their country was barefacedly avowed. The half million bribe was almoſt gazetted, certainly trumpeted by the firſt authority. Their contempt of public opinion and of the Iriſh nation was inſolently declared on all occaſions.

What then remained to reſtrain them from the malpractices of which they were accuſed by the boaſted fraternal leagues of the northern riotors. They never were accuſed of paying any regard to honour, duty, or principle, even when their vices and paſſions did not come into a competition. But to ſuppoſe them capable of deviating from their uſual conſiſtency in wickedneſs, when their appetites for revenge, their hatred of the Iriſh nation and their predilection for miſchief, could be ſated at the ſame time their intereſt was ſerved, would amount to a prodigy. Are they the men of blood, the authors of coercion, of military execution, or of torture,

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torture &c. we are to ſuſpect of a cautious, or merciful, or moderate policy? No, they ſaved us the trouble when they threw off the maſk, and declared themſelves the heads and patrons of that atrocious conſpiracy, adopting the name, the ſanguinary creed, the ſymbols and ſavage warhoops of the exterminators. Have they not ſince acted up to the full extent of that infernal ſyſtem? Yes! Let their public language ſay what they chuſe, we have alas their horrid import in the ſtronger language of facts; let burning, maſſacre, raviſhing, and torture declare them.

Were the Britiſh Miniſtry altogether unconcerned ſpectators in theſe tranſactions, or did they foment the paſſions and party intereſts that diſtracted us, they could not be ſo inattentive to the affairs of ſo valuable a portion of the empire, nor indifferent to the movements and colliſions of its factions. From theſe they might hope to realize the fond deſire of England to render Ireland completely dependent on her legiſlature. What was conſidered as the ſole mean of carrying a favourite point might be induſtriouſly created; one party might be ſecretly encouraged to come forward with claims, and the other encouraged to reſiſt them; victory might alternately be inclined to either ſcale, that the viciſſitudes of ſucceſs and defeat, of hope, fear and reſentment ſhould inflame and commit them in implacable hoſtility.

Fitzwilliam and reform, Camden and coercion, might

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might be ſent to act their different parts in the ſame drama, without ſpoiling the unity of the piece, of which the laſt act was to conſiſt in the ſubjugation of Ireland—One party muſt firſt defeat the other in the field, but which of them would be the moſt likely to be ſelected as the auxiliaries and inſtruments of breaking down the ſpirit of Ireland; not the moſt numerous. Putting arms and diſcipline in their hands, would be making Ireland ſtrong; it would be the minority; it has happened accordingly. There is then in the paſt ſeries of events a ſtrong train of circumſtantial evidence, that bring home to the Britiſh Machiavel ſomething more than mere ſuſpicion, of having acted an underhand part in the late tragedies—of having acted the prompter behind the ſcenes. One circumſtance more is wanting to furniſh a complete proof of his culpable manœuvres; that is to take advantage of our calamities to rob us of our conſtitution and independence.

He that could rob his neighbour's houſe, while burning, would be capable of ſetting it on fire; can that meaſure be meant as friendly, or beneficial, which has been matured and brought forward by ſuch deteſtable and deſtructive arts? Both the meaſure and the mind that conceived it ſhould be judged by the perfidy and atrocities that have prepared the way for it, by the weakneſs and diſunion under favour of which it is brought forward, by the deluſion and violence, or threats of violence reſorted to in its ſupport. If I am

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right in my conjectures the rebels will again be ſtimulated to riſe, with the view of renovating their conflict with the yeomanry, thus preventing any thing like a coalition of parties in oppoſition to the Union.

Thus whether we examine the ſources, the means, the circumſtances of this innovation, it bears every mark and characteriſtic feature of perfidious and hoſtile uſurpation; it iſſues from a power ever intent on ſacrificing us to its own ſuppoſed intereſts, to the fallacious intereſt of the moment; whoſe every interference, to watch with anxious vigilance, we ſhould be taught by repeated experience of its inceſſant encroachment on our rights and intereſts. To its infernal policy we owe our late calamities and criminal exceſſes, that have caſt a temporary ſtain on a generous people. To promote its inſidious plans of uſurpation, religious and political, factions have been hallooed at each other, armed to their mutual deſtruction. Wherefore then is our parliament now reviled, accuſed of betraying their native land, in compliance with the dictates of the Premier?

Why is it repreſented as corrupt, venal, proſtitute, a very nuiſance not to be tolerated? In order to reconcile the Iriſh Nation to its extinction, and to the transfer of legiſlative power to Britain, according to the uſual artifice of uſurpers, firſt to degrade, next to annull the depoſitaries of freedom. Legiſlators of Ireland do you feel any drop of Iriſh blood running in your veins? Do you feel no ſhame in degradation, no remorſe in infamy, no compunction for paſt errors, no grief for the fatal and ruinous meaſures into which our

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common country has been seduced and precipitated? Have you any sense of honour, of the duty you owe your God, your country, your posterity? Rouze all the energies of your dormant virtues and latent patriotism; prove to the world, (I am convinced 'tis clearly fact) that your sanction to the councils of violence, coercion, persecution and torture, was obtained through the operation of terror and delusion, rather than the venality and depravity, with which you are reproached. Recall to mind that glorious epoch in the history of Ireland, when parliament asserted the nation's rights, and supported by the glorious Volunteers, obtained them. When the people were unanimous and loyal, the armed associates, patriotic defenders of the people and their rights, not exterminators. Observe, that as you measure out to the people, Britain measures to you; when you conceded to the People, England conceded to you.

There is a law of retributive justice and retaliation, proclaimed in the Gospel and enforced by the moral order of the universe — "whatsoever measure you measure unto others, the same shall be measured unto you" from whose operation no mortal power can escape: against its inevitable decree there is no protection, in fleets, nor armies, nor full treasures; nor loans, taxes, obsequious senates or servile partizans, or naval victories. That People who from selfish views of commercial monopoly and lucre, would extinguish the freedom and independence of all other nations must

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loſe its own, and that by the very inſtruments and means it employs to enſlave others. The vicious habits generated in the unnatural warfare, the national antipathies, and ſpirit of monopoly and proud dominion, effects & cauſes of cruſades againſt moral juſtice—their feſtiſh and venal temper created by luxury and bloated proſperity, their obſequious devotion to all the ambitious projects of a Government, the moſt addicted to war, when they promiſe any acceſſion of power, revenue or commerce, when they hold out any alluring proſpects to the pride or avarice of Engliſhmen, will become the inſtruments of their ſubjugation, and bring upon them in one day the evils of poverty and ſervitude. When did the Romans and Greeks begin to decline? When they became indifferent about the morality of public meaſures, and looked ſolely to the narrow impolitic utility of the moment; This is the fall of individuals and nations. There is nothing ſo feeble that may not ſubſiſt in union with moral juſtice, nothing ſo powerful but muſt be overthrown by running counter to its omnipotent ſway. I ſhall be told of ſome inſtances of ſucceſsful villany---and of innocence oppreſſed; but as the luminary of day riſes refulgent from behind a ſable cloud; ſo the honour of oppreſſed innocence, will emerge from unmerited neglect, oppreſſion or obſcurity, with redoubled luſtre, while the momentary triumph of the wicked ſhall terminate in their utter deſolation and ruin. Thoſe retributions of divine juſtice, may appear to the unreflecting and to the immoral, becauſe they wiſh it, ſlow or precarious; but

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but they are ſure, inevitable, meaſured to the exigencies of the caſe in duration and intenſity ; only the execution is delayed for amendment, example, or ſome compenſating utility, for periods longer or ſhorter, as the urgency of the caſe or the efficacious adminiſtration of the moral law requires—this is the law that binds lawgivers themſelves ; this is the wisdom from above—of whom the Hebrew ſage : PER ME REGES REGNANT ET LEGUM CONDITORES JUSTA DECERNUNT : Of this ſubject more hereafter. Now apply it to the affairs of Ireland. The moſt numerous portion of Iriſhmen were held in bondage by a domeſtic party ; they in their turn were in the chains of Britain ; in proportion as they emancipated Catholics, Britain emancipated Ireland ; when they ſtopped conceſſion, Britain did the ſame towards them ; when they practiſed coercion, perſecution and torture, Britain ſtretches forth the arm of her policy and power to plunge them into hopeleſs ſervitude, and extinguiſh them as a nation I call on every deſcription of the Iriſh people, moſt eſpecially on the leading and ruling part, to humble themſelves in the awful preſence of God, imploring the divine mercy, and repenting with ſincere contrition, the folly and wickedneſs of the paſt times ; that he may of his infinite goodneſs cancel our crimes, and avert the terrible ſcourge now impending over us. The land is polluted with blood. The cries of the deſolate, the tears and groans of the deſtitute and famiſhing victims of rapine and aſſaſſination, the deſpair of the widow

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and the orphan, and the ruined ſons of toil and poverty, aſcend before the lord of heaven and earth. Great crimes have been committed on both ſides: Oh! but the reign of Robeſpiere, furniſhes no parallel to the execrable barbarities perpetrated by one party, often without any proof of crime, on bare ſuſpicion of being adverſe to aſcendancy. The guilloſine inflicted a ſpeedy and eaſy death; there was no picketing, no roaſting, no ſlow fires, no ſcalping or pitched caps; no whipping with thongs of thick knotted wire, and after the back was laid bare, ſalt, pepper and vinegar, applied to the raw wounds, and whipped into the marrow. Idolatry was guilty of a more pardonable miſtake in honouring the creature too much. Could Hell inſpire any thing more than rancour and malice againſt their own fleſh and blood? This barbarous outrage and violation of human nature, theſe feats of demoniac and frantic atrocity revelling in luſt, murder and butchery, drunk with blood and cruelty, polluting the eyes of an agonizing public, and the day-light, with ſuch unutterable abominations, as freeze the blood with horror and make hell bluſh and cry out ſhame.

At Gorey, an Engliſh officer, no ſoldier, cut out with his penknife, a man's heart who was hanged for a rebel, (without proof) and deliberately cutting it open —dreadful to relate.—Oh! heavens—it were leſs criminal to devour it than—no the paper, the publiſhers will not bear it: wherever that impious monſter contaminates the ſacred light and pure elements with his abhorred

abhorred prefence; may the vengeance of infulted Heaven and violated humanity purfue him, and fuch deteſted fiends as have polluted this ſacred Iſle, with abominations unheard of among the Heathens. Thank God, few real Iriſhmen have been guilty of thoſe enormities; they were chiefly foreigners or the immediate deſcendants of foreigners who diſgraced humanity, during the late melancholy tranſactions; we all however have tranſgreſſed, and it is our duty to implore the forgiveneſs of offended Heaven, in all humility and contrition of ſpirit. We have need of mercy and ſhould be ready in our turn to forgive and forget paſt injuries—we muſt draw the veil of oblivion over the paſt—'tis our duty as Chriſtians, and as we are all imperfect beings, liable to error and miſconduct, and conſcious of the power of paſſion, deluſion, ſeduction and terror, to miſlead even good men and plunge them into exceſſes; now more than ever 'tis incumbent on us to practice thoſe Chriſtian duties of mutual forbearance and forgiveneſs; 'tis neceſſary for our political as well as ſpiritual ſalvation. Unleſs we ſacrifice our reſentments to our duty and intereſt, at this momentous criſis, we are extinguiſhed for ever, and we entail bondage and diſgrace on our poſterity. They will ſay with Jeremiah, "our fathers have ſinned, they are no more, but we bear the burden of their iniquity." Let us, dear countrymen, in the name of common ſenſe and patriotiſm, lay aſide our ruinous animoſities, our petty cabals and diſgraceful ſpirit of revenge: let us obey the call of Heaven and our country, which commands us to love one another

another, to cultivate mutual amity and concord, for the preſervation of friendſhip and harmony, the defence of our fire-ſides, our little ones, our rights and properties. "Be ye one, as I and the father are one," was the injunction of Jeſus to his followers—United as Chriſtians, however different in ſome trifling ſhades of ſpeculative opinions; United as Iriſhmen, for however petty intereſts may vary, our great and permanent intereſts are the ſame. United we proſper, divided we periſh. Who cried down the union of Iriſhmen, and drove it to exceſs in theory and practice, by their diabolical ſecret arts and open violence? The very men who are now about to rob us of our exiſtence as a nation, of all our preſent comforts and ſplendid proſpects.—None but they and the arch enemy of mankind can wiſh for diſcord and ſtrife. The goſpel and morality, in faithful accord with our preſent and future intereſt, call upon us to unite, to lay aſide ſectarian bitterneſs and factious ſtrife. The Devil and Pitt wiſh to fight ſect againſt ſect, party againſt party, in order to accompliſh their views of ſubjugating all. The Miniſter has ſhewn the cloven foot, if we do not profit by the diſcovery we deſerve to periſh here and hereafter.

Two things we have to weigh, in the preſent ſtate of the queſtion:

1ſt. The extent of the ruin prepared for us,

2dly. The means of warding it off.

As to the firſt propoſition it may be preſumed an eaſy

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talk to prove the incorporate union a ruinous measure —the following is an abstract of the leading argument against it.

1ſt. The proprietors of land would emigrate, and reſide permanently in England.

2dly. Arts, manufactures, talents and mercantile enterprize, deprived of their patrons and cuſtomers, would emigrate either to England, France or America.

3dly. Agriculture would decline, together with the Capital and province of Leinſter.

4thly. The linen manufacture would decline and be tranſported into Britain.—1ſt. Becauſe it would be deprived of the foſtering attention of a domeſtic legiſlature. 2dly. Becauſe manufactures in general muſt follow the cuſtomers who alone make the market. 3rdly. Becauſe the Britiſh Miniſtry would encourage it in England, Scotland, &c.

5thly. The value of lands would ſuddenly fall over the greater part of the kingdom; farmers would be ruined, and reſign their farms to ſheep and bullocks—and conſequently all proprietors of land would ſuffer by it.

6thly. England cannot poſſibly offer any compenſation adequate to thoſe mighty loſſes, and if ſhe made ſuch offers ſhe would not keep faith, for Ireland would

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have no means of enforcing any terms that might be given, either by the controul of the purſe or of opinion, inaſmuch as her proportion of repreſentatives would parly become Engliſhmen, by education, habitual reſidence, faſhionable prejudices, &c. the remainder, either from venality, or deſpair of any effectual reſiſtance to Britiſh miſrule, would acquieſce in any injuſtice offered to their former country. The whole would be too far removed from the influence of a public opinion, otherwiſe become leſs reſpectable by the ſubtraction of talent and fortune.

7thly. The Punic faith of England is notorious from her treatment of Scotland, Ireland, America, Toulon, the Eaſt Indies, &c.

8thly. The incompatible hopes and contradictory advantages held forth to different parties and ſects, proves that England not only does not mean to keep her word, but that ſhe entertains the moſt ſovereign contempt for our intellects. The Catholic is promiſed an open to further privileges, and encouraged to hope much from the liberality of Engliſh ſtateſmen; yet the Epiſcopalian Proteſtant is promiſed a further ſecurity to his aſcendancy, from the acceſſion of Engliſh Epiſcopalians, the perpetuity of the teſt act, &c. The Preſbyterians are to gain importance as a ſect by the fraternizing incorporation; nevertheleſs they are told they are to be incorporated with the Epiſcopalians. The clergy are to gain ſecurity to their livings, but the Catholics and

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Diſſenters are cajoled by the promiſed abolition of tithes. All this ſhuffling and trick might do very well for the cloſet, where each party hears only what is addreſſed to his own paſſions, and remains ignorant of ſimilar promiſes made to others--never meant to be kept, or perhaps impoſſible, becauſe incompatible. This cunning management, I ſay, might anſwer for cloſet interviews, where it might eſcape detection; but to expoſe it in print proves the inſulting contempt the writer entertains for Iriſh intellect, or the invincible propenſity of Engliſh ſtateſmen to trick and deception where they cannot even hope to impoſe on us.

9thly. Memorable it is that he offers no benefit to one party but at the expence of the other, and this is the old ſcheme of Engliſh fraud. He ſaid to the Epiſcopalians, we will rob the Iriſh of their rights and properties; we will let you have a ſhare of the plunder and your will be a gainer.

They now tell the Catholic---That villainous Aſcendancy has robbed you of your property, your honours, your liberty, let us go and ſtrip that miſcreant faction of its ill-gotten and ill-uſed power. Tranſer the rights of Ireland to England; then you will be quite at eaſe. They tell us all, we are a nation of fools and rogues, who can reliſh no advantage unleſs we exclude our neighbours from participation. Agreeably to this ſcheme of creating jealouſies and diviſions, the people of Cork,

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Cork, Limerick, Galway and Waterford are told, they ſhall benefit by the extinction of their country's independence! In what ſhape, prithee? Will the parliament of Great Britain promote their intereſts, at the expence of Mancheſter, Birmingham, Sheffield or Briſtol? Will they compel capital or manufactures to emigrate thither by act of parliament? Without ſuch compulſion they would not quit their preſent advantageous ſituation, and if compelled to move, they would ſooner move to France than to Ireland. (See part the firſt of Probability Cauſes, &c.) Whence then are theſe mighty benefits to ariſe, to the above mentioned towns in conſequence of an Union—is it from the emigration of the landed proprietors and the conſequent emigration of the merchants, manufacturers, and talent of the country in general. People do not ſeem to reflect ſufficiently on the ſources of trade, when they talk ſo vaguely of the encreaſe of it by the removal of the very ſtreams that feed it. Cuſtomers make trade, and the opulent are the chief conſumers; is it by their expatriation that trade is to be benefited? Again foreign trade conſiſts in exports and imports; exports are of two kinds, raw material and manufacture. Whenever the home market fails by the removal of proprietors and their incomes, manufactures will vaniſh, in every branch. The home market is the only one for our manufactures; is it by the annihilation of infant, yet thriving manufactues, that our exports are to become more beneficial; granted—a greater quantity of the raw material muſt be exported when the home market is diminiſhed

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diminiſhed, and with it manufactures; but ſmall is the profit compared to that on the ſame material, wrought into goods. The proſperity of a town is connected eſſentially with that of the circumjacent country; the poverty and depopulation of the latter, will be the poverty and depopulation of the former, 2d. The exports muſt always bear a proportion to the imports, if the former decreaſe ſo muſt the latter. A country which cannot afford to conſume a reaſonable portion of its own produce will furniſh an indifferent market for foreign commodities.

Now towns are the agents of thoſe exchanges foreign and domeſtic; the poverty of the exchanging parties muſt injure the extent and profit of their dealings. But 'tis ſaid that the vicinity of country ſea ports, Galway, Waterford, &c. which are now ſupplied with various articles of luxury or convenience from the capital, would on the extinction of Dublin, purchaſe from the neareſt ſea-ports—Notable diſcovery indeed. If what Dublin loſes were to be ſuperadded to thoſe towns, the argument might hold; far otherwiſe will be the caſe. The nobility and gentry who now ſpend the winter in Dublin and will continue to do ſo, as long as it is the ſeat of legiſlature and of a court, however ſubordinate, are accuſtomed to reſide on their eſtates, ſome part of the year, in the neighbourhood of thoſe towns, and contribute to ſupport their trade; when they are loſt to Ireland, which they will viſit no more but as birds of paſſage, the abſentee drain that impo-

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veriſhes us will encreaſe ; how the encreaſe of that drain is to enrich us, ſeems to me very myſterious. Very ſuperficial muſt that man be who can ſuppoſe that the commerce of the interior ; ſuppoſe the county of Galway with the capital, can injure the town of Galway.

The reaſon why the neighbours of Galway purchaſe from the capital ſeveral articles is, becauſe the Dublin merchant poſſeſſing a greater market, and better credit and capital, can afford thoſe articles cheaper and better finiſhed ; in return they take many articles of produce and manufacture, which could not be diſpoſed of it at all, or not without loſs, in the county town, which enables the ſellers to be better cuſtomers to that town than they otherwiſe could be. Whereas the emigration of property and the extinction of Dublin would leave an immenſe chasm in circulation that nothing could fill.

As well might it be affirmed, that the amputation of a limb, or copious bleeding would encreaſe the maſs of blood ; and what impoveriſhed the whole frame, would ſtrengthen a particular limb. In a word the country towns may export more in bulk, i. e. in raw material than at preſent, but much leſs in value ; their imports will be a nullity, becauſe the produce of the exports will be immediately tranſmitted in the ſhape of rents to abſentees, or locked up in the coffers of graziers and agents, until the moment it is tranſmitted. Your wooll

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and hides, your flax and hemp, (except what ſhall be required for ropes to hang the Iriſh) will be ſent to England, there to be wrought into cloth. The produce of your mines will be ſent over to Birmingham and Sheffield, and to the mint, as ſoon as ſmelted. You never will know the immenſe value of your country, until you loſe it. Among all the inſults that have been offered to our intellects, none exceeds the abſurd compenſation held out to Dublin, for the loſs of its metropolitan conſequence; it is to have the excluſive privilege of ſelling corn to the Engliſh. So they will condeſcend to eat bread, made of Iriſh corn, while the wretches who toil in the culture of ground, eat no better than potatoes. What are the ſins of Waterford, Drogheda, Dundalk, &c. that they ſhould be prohibited to ſell the growth of their diſtricts? Why ſhould the farmer be compelled to bring his corn thirty or forty miles by land carriage to market, when he might as well diſpoſe of it in the next ſeaport? At preſent there is an inducement, becauſe Dublin in itſelf is a great and ſure market independent of exportation; but when the creative cauſes, that conſtitute this city what it is are removed, it has no advantage to offer above the forementioned towns. Let us however ſuppoſe Dublin, poſſeſſed of this iniquitous monopoly, injurious alike to the intereſts of agriculture and the neighbouring ſeaports, would the profits ſupport a ſingle ſtreet, ſuch as Capel, or Dame, or Grafton-ſtreet? The negative is ſelf-evident. It has however the merit of being conſiſtent with the ſpirit of Engliſh domination, monopoly and

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and diviſion ; it is of a piece with the deceptions played off throughout the whole of the ſecretary's performance. The parts are to be benefited by the ruin of the whole; and at the expence of each other. Juſt as the union is to give the Catholics the advantage over the Proteſtants, ET VICE VERSA ; and to ſecure their livings to the clergy by the loſs of their tithes ; and to ſecure liberty of conſcience to the diſſenters by the extenſion of the teſt acts to their communion. But in the name of goodneſs where is all the corn to come from ? Agriculture, and above all the agriculture of this country, whoſe farmers are poor, requires a certain and ſpeedy return of its capital and profits ; a fluctuating or caſual market, could never encourage ſo expenſive an undertaking. Now Dublin affords to the corn counties in Ireland, a great and certain market, and capitaliſts who can afford to purchaſe and hoard corn for a day of need, or for exportation ; this has created the agriculture of Leinſter, and the deſtruction of the Capital would annihilate it. England is much too precarious a market to ſupply its place. That country has frequently enough for its own conſumption, and ſometimes a ſurplus for foreign exportation ; in ſuch caſes what would the Iriſh farmer do with his corn. 'Tis evident that Leinſter would become a ſheep-walk for Engliſh clothiers, and England would raiſe corn enough for her own uſe and the uſe of the few Iriſh who could afford to eat it,—(i. e. the graziers, agents, army, &c.) and in caſe of a deficiency, get ſupplies from America.

Citizens

Citizens of Dublin, be of good cheer, there is ſtill a boon in reſerve for you, you are to have a free port. Lord have mercy on the new cuſtom-houſe, the ſwarm of great and petty officers who thrive on the port duties, and the gang that parades in B—d's uniform; they will ſtand afar off wailing and knaſhing their teeth.—How often muſt thoſe unioniſts be reminded that market makes trade, and cuſtomers make the market.; when theſe are gone, exemption from port duties will not induce any merchant to ſend his goods where there are few or none to purchaſe them. On the other hand, where there is plenty of buſineſs the dealer will enrich himſelf, while he pays high rent, taxes and port duties. He that pays a guinea a foot ground rent may realize a fortune, while the tenant who pays half a guinea an acre may remain poor. You will be free to export—wool, raw hides, gold and ſilver ore, cattle, butter, beef, iron, copper and lead ore; recruits for the army and navy, rents to abſentee landlords, labourers to reap the harveſt in England, &c. You will enjoy the freedom of importing Engliſh armies, and baſhaws of one or three tails, Engliſh judges, Engliſh ſtewards, Engliſh Biſhops and tax-gatherers—If this traffic makes you great and rich and free, much good may it do you; you ſhall be the firſt nation that fattened on ſuch commodities.

Countrymen, you will not be duped by the flimſy artifice of thoſe who talk to you about commerce, if you reflect: 1ſt. That you poſſeſs all the right to trade already

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dy which an union could give you, except the fair regulation of the channel trade, which would be reduced to a mere export of raw materials on our part, by the meaſure under contemplation; 2dly. That you at preſent poſſeſs ſome means of trade of which an union would deprive you—i. e. the reſidence of a large proportion of the landed proprietors, who refund their incomes into the circulation of induſtry and trade. When the ſources of a river are dried up no art can make it flow.

It may perhaps be advanced, that though the home market fail, we may reſort to the carrying trade; yes, the Dungarvan fleet may carry timber and fruit to the London, Briſtol or Liverpool markets; Skerries and Ruſh may be employed in carrying them Carlingford oyſters! Holland, 'tis true, deſtitute of a home market, enriched herſelf by the carrying trade; but then ſhe had the Continent behind her, of which ſhe made a part—Germany, of which Holland is ſea-coaſt and harbour. She lay convenient for the countries that ſupply naval ſtores, &c. and the ſuperior degree of liberty then enjoyed by her, invited talent, commercial enterprize and capital thither, from regions plagued by the deſpotiſm of kings and prieſts. This obſervation applies to the Hans Towns, Old Tyre, &c. &c. Ah, Countrymen, let not England inſult our underſtandings with baſeleſs viſionary tales; ſhe is not inclined, nor will ſhe have the ability of counteracting the deſtructive effects of our ſubjugation. Indeed her inclination to in-

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jure us was never problematical, and it muſt be rather vehement at preſent to cloſe her eyes on the damage ſhe thereby inflicts on herſelf. The firſt year of the union ſhe will perhaps be a gainer, but every ſucceeding year will accumulate the proofs of her impolicy, in the decline of her proſperity. 1ſt. In the capital and all over the province of Leinſter, lands will fall, on an average, to one-half of their preſent value, and in the other provinces the fall will be perhaps ſomewhat leſs, —conſequently her revenues from Iriſh abſentees will not be much improved by the union; while her manufactures will be materially injured. Ireland, depopulated and impoveriſhed, will no longer take ſuch large quantities of Engliſh cloth, hard-ware, coals, Weſt-India goods, porter, ale, cider, cottons, &c. &c. The Weſt of England, Liverpool, Briſtol, Birmingham, Sheffield, Mancheſter and the Collieries will be firſt to feel the loſs of the Iriſh market.

Thus the oppreſſor is puniſhed by the recoil of his oppreſſion. Augment the proſperity of Ireland and you augment that of England, neceſſarily in the ſame proportion, I am bold to affirm that the law formerly paſſed in England, obliging Iriſh abſentees to reſide in heir own country, on pain of paying two-thirds of their income into the Exchequer, would be political at all times. The yearly million drained from us, were it employed in tillage, manufactures, &c, would produce, in half a century, more than five hundred millions. In this caſe Ireland would riſe to the preſent level of England

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land, and the redundancy of her wealth, through the operation of known causes, flowing upon Britain, would surpass in an inconceivable degree the advantages she at present derives from us. The union reverses all this, and our poverty will communicate itself more or less to them. The loss will be common to both, through the proposed destruction of the causes productive of wealth. Still farther; if England could impart to us an equal share of commerce, (which an union would render impossible,) connected as it is with frightful incumbrances and interminable wars and taxes, I would not forego our own moderate prospects for the splendid, but fallacious bait: I shall explain my reasons, by examining the actual situation of England.

PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF ENGLAND.

As to her Constitution and laws, her debts and taxes, her commerce, &c. &c. The British constitution, sprung from the ancient Saxon laws, blended with the high monarchical authority prevalent since the Norman conquest: The stern despotism established by that conquest, was gradually undermined by the influence of national manners and institutions. The new race, half Norman, half Saxon, blended their manners, laws and languages, in spite of the tyrannical policy of the conqueror, who laboured to keep them distinct. After various collisions between the nobles, the people and the throne, in which party spirit and religion played a principal part, sometimes one side prevailing sometimes the other the

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the conſtitution ſeemed at laſt fixed, at the revolution, by the compromiſe of prerogative and privilege. During half a century its effects were beneficial; for ſo long a period it preſerved its vigour. As long as the race of Stewart, with their indefeaſible right and high prerogative, had numerous partizans in Great Britain, the reigning family thought it their intereſt to lean to he popular ſide. By the creative influence of theſe cauſes England was quickly carried forward to the pinnacle of wealth and greatneſs; but the worm that was one day to wither this fair tree of liberty was originally lodged within the core. Tacitus obſerved that ſuch a conſtitution, (compoſed of king, lords and commons,) if ever realized, would not laſt long. He did not aſſign his reaſons, but they are obvious enough: The hereditary branch muſt finally ſwallow up the others; poſſeſſed of the high power of declaring war, and truſted with the expenditure of the extraordinary means for carrying it on, it encreaſes at will its patronage and means of corruption; it preſſes the paſſions, purſes, perſons and expectations of mankind into its ſervice. 'Tis true the commons may refuſe ſupplies, but it would be ſometimes dangerous to the public ſervice, when ſtate neceſſity demands them—a neceſſity that may at any time be created by the above prerogative. Members would gain nothing by withholding a tax but the applauſe of the fickle multitude—too airy a diet for Engliſh appetites. By granting they ſhare them.

The power of the purſe as 'tis called, is one of the ſhalloweſt

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ſhalloweſt artifices that ever deceived a people. The executive cannot take the people's money, without the conſent of the commons; neither can the commons take it without the aid of the executive. May not both agree to take and ſhare it among themſelves? They have done ſo; refuſing the crown would be withholding ſupplies from their own pockets—an act of ſelf-denial not common enough to conſtitute a general and permanent principle of conduct, which would be neceſſary to render the commons an effectual check. They talk of the controul of the people over the commons; that too is viſionary. The ariſtocracy and a few towns and cities, return a majority; thoſe partial intereſts will of courſe wield it to their own advantage, to the detriment of the public welfare; whenever there is any competition; and the crown wields them. The fountain of honour, it leads men by their vanity; the ſource of preferment, it leads them by their ambition. Church, ſtate, places, penſions, law, army, navy, &c. ſwell that ocean of royal bounty, which bears down as with a deluge, every particle of independence. During the preſent reign all theſe reſources have been effectually employed, to ſap the liberties of the people and erect on the ruins, that abſolute power which is the firſt and fervent wiſh of every man who bears the name of king. As if they were not of themſelves too efficacious, deluſion and terror have been called into their aid, and thus liberty periſhed, attacked at once by ſap and by ſtorm. William IV. will probably keep up the ſhadowy forms of departed freedom, to maſk the moſt abſolute power

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power ever poſſeſſed by any Engliſhman, ſince the days of Oliver Cromwell, but the ſubſtance will never be reſtored; he has left England no alternative, between abſolute monarchy and a republic.

COMMERCE.

Until the reign of Elizabeth, England enjoyed very little trade; her raw materials were exported to the Low Countries and imported back again manufactured. The long and proſperious reign of that politic princeſs, foſtered arts and manufactures, and laid the foundation of Engliſh commerce. In this undertaking ſhe was greatly favoured by the troubles of the Low Countries, and fierce and continual wars between France and Auſtria, which interrupted the commercial proſperity of the Italians and the Hanſe Towns, and forced a good deal of their buſineſs into England. But it was the epoch of the revolution that gave England that maratime preponderance, which ſhe has preſerved and augmented ever ſince. At that period the Dutch, who hitherto had been the formidable rivals of England, became its allies and the inſtrument of its greatneſs. By their aid the formidable marine of Louis the fourteenth was annihilated, and the Engliſh flag ranged uncontrouled over all the ſeas, and eſtabliſhed colonies and compting houſes in every quarter of the globe. Since that period, commerce has been the rage; it was purſued with fanatical avidity, and every other object was ſacrificed as of inferior value. Frequent wars have been waged chiefly in ſupport of commercial monopoly. Eng-

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land was ſeen to traverſe the world, with the ſword in one hand and a bale of goods in the other, telling the nations; buy or elſe. She ſupported war by commerce, and monopoly by war. The fanaticiſm of the Koran was ſcarce more pernicious than her commercial fanaticiſm. While ſhe extended and forced her commerce in this manner, by the power of her navy, forming eſtabliſhments and dictating commercial treaties, ſhe contracted immenſe debts in the purſuit; the intereſt of which, required heavy taxes, and theſe demanded in their turn the extenſion of monopoly. Hence her commercial wars, and her monopoly became alternately cauſe and effect. Enormous taxes could not be paid without monopoly, and that by interfering with the intereſts of other nations—muſt give riſe to frequent wars, which increaſing the INTESTINUM MALUM of debts and taxes—encreaſed the neceſſity of excluſive commerce. Thus the Engliſh ſyſtem of commercial war, and warlike commerce, is a ſanguinary monſter, ſubſiſting on carnage and deveſtation, trampling on the feelings of nature and the rights of humanity. All nations are intereſted in its deſtruction, but none have a greater intereſt in the ruin of that nefarious ſyſtem than the Engliſh themſelves: To its deadly operation they are indebted for the loſs of their conſtitution and dearly bought freedom, the extinction of public ſpirit, the endleſs accumulation of taxes; the venality of the great, the miſery of the many, and the uncontroleable deſpotiſm of the cabinet.

Moſt

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Moſt efficacious among the plauſible pretences that enabled miniſtry to undermine the power and conſequence of the people through the medium of foreign war, oſtenſibly in ſupport of the balance of power, religion and trade &c. but really directed to encreaſe the power of the crown at the expence of public liberty--a potent engine to ſqueeze the ſavings of induſtry from the hard hand of labour, to intrench on the comfortsof the induſtrious claſſes, and collecting the amount of their forced privations, pour them in torrents into the coffers of the miniſter, whence they are ſhowered into the lap of venality and luxury, as the price of ſervility to the court and treachery to the people. Engliſh guineas wrung from honeſt induſtry, beſide deſtroying liberty at home, are employed for its ſubverſion abroad, and for the deſtruction of the human race: Showers of Engliſh gold ſcattered among continental deſpots, are converted into torrents of human blood. The Engliſh do not reflect that every man ſhot in their wars is a cuſtomer deſtroyed. After the deſtruction of liberty, the next great effect of the ſyſtem is the deſtruction of property—this may be conſidered under the head of debt and taxes.

Much has been ſaid of the infinite bleſſings enjoyed by the people of England: no doubt they enjoy the ſupreme felicity of paying heavier taxes than any other nation—budget ſucceeds budget with alarming rapidity, repleniſhed with requiſitions and adding to the burdens of an overloaded public. How long they will bear this accumulating

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accumulating load is not eaſy to ſay; their patience indeed may be inexhauſtible, but their ability muſt have limits. Hitherto they have exhibited an intereſting ſpectacle to mankind—the prodigality of government contending with the frugality, induſtry and patience of the public—who have ſupported the conteſt in a ſurprizing manner. The facility of raiſing loans, has been advanced as a proof of the inexhauſtible wealth of Britain—it argues certainly ſome wealth, but it proves inconteſtibly the inexhauſtible patience of the Engliſh, and the irreſiſtable power of the crown. The facility of raiſing loans, is but another name for the facility of impoſing taxes—for a loan is the produce of a tax ſet up to auction: Thus the property and induſtry of the preſent and future generation of Engliſhmen, have been ſold and morgaged to uſurers. If the miniſter thought proper to flea them, and bring their ſkins to the hammer of the ſtate actioneer, he would find bidders among the rapacious tribe of money jobbers—"Who bids more for Johnny Bull's hide?" The word property in the mouth of an Engliſhman is a foleciſm, until they have ſome ſecurity againſt miniſterial rapacity. Let Pitt be called upon to declare frankly where his requiſitions are to ſtop or what fragment of their incomes he means to indulge the people with. While the patronage and power of the crown are SWOLLEN AD INFINITUM by the funding ſyſtem, the people are depreſſed, compelled to hard drudgery and painful privations. The court may go on revelling in luxury, and pampered with power and

wealth

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wealth, while the people are weighed down to unfathomable depths of misery.

FURTHER EFFECTS OF THE FUNDING SYSTEM.

I have already stated some of the worst; i. e; the accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of the few, the propensity to war, and of course to the imposition of fresh taxes, the oppression, drudgery and poverty of the people—the latter deserves a more distinct consideration, when we are threatened with a full participation of the infinite blessings boasted by our neighbours.

The system has reduced them (the bulk I mean,) to the level of the brute creation; compelled by the weight of taxes to incessant toil, with hardly leisure for sleep, or bolting their victuals, (chewing would take up time,) and that from their earliest years. They are deprived of the benefits of education, and thereby unqualified for rational amusement, and the liberal moral means of human happiness. They can taste no pleasure but of the grossest animal kind, and that too stinted and sparingly; their cares, toil and sorrows are many, their enjoyments few. They are to be sure regaled with a litttle "vigour beyond the law," coercion, bastiles, Botany bay and the gallows; draughted to be "killed off." Surely we cannot pay too high a price for our full contingent of these infinite blessings. Even the class above them are forced upon privations, and rapidly descending to a level with the former. Indeed men of landed

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landed property can no longer be considered but as tenants of the crown, which in virtue of the syſtem is the ſole proprietor of England; all other claſſes are but collectors or articles of revenue. Further, a monied ariſtocracy is thereby created, to which the landed ariſtocracy is ſubſervient and tributary. It has converted the kingdom into an immenſe gambling-houſe, than which a greater plague to morals cannot be well conceived. That gambling ſpirit which ſpeculates on public and private misfortunes, and contracts the heart to the narrow feelings of ſelf—in conjunction with the venality employed as the inſtrument of court influence, has undermined and extinguiſhed that independence of mind and public ſpirit on which Engliſhmen uſed to value themſelves heretofore.

Some have been abſurd enough to affirm that the public debt is public wealth; others more moderate are content to advance, that it cannot injure the public —"'Tis only," ſay they, "the right hand ſettling accounts with the left. The firſt propoſition though apparently paradoxical contains ſome truth: Debts and taxes force people to labour more and conſume leſs, and the redundancy of the produce above the conſumption, may by exportation be converted into caſh for the uſe of Government. But this proceſs has limits —if carried too far it hurts the home market, which is by far the moſt profitable and permanent of any. It is unſafe for any great nation to depend for the principal part of its reſources on foreign markets and foreign commerce.

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1ſt. Becauſe other nations may imitate the navigation act and other commercial regulations, in giving excluſive advantages to their own manufacturers and merchants,

2dly. Becauſe a formidable rival may ſucceed by her arms and policy, to drive her from foreign markets, and wreſt the trident out of her hands.

3dly. Becauſe the indefinite progreſs of taxes muſt in the end raiſe the price of manufactures beyond their value in foreign markets, and ſhut them out completely, notwithſtanding the aid of machinery and mechanical ingenuity—things that may be imitated or ſurpaſſed by other nations.

Here it is not improper to obſerve that a nation may over-trade and over-war itſelf, (if I may be allowed the exureſſion.) It may be brought to depend eſſentially, for its proſperity and rank, on reſources out of herſelf, ſcattered over the world, conſequently precarious.—Such is the ſituation of England; a revolution at the diſtance of a thouſand leagues would ſhake her to the centre. Her funds tremblingly ſenſible of all mutations in the political atmoſphere, diffuſe a morbid ſenſibility through her frame; they forces her to feel too lively an intereſt in foreign concerns, and forbid her any long repoſe from intrigue and war, which muſt in their turn increaſe the malignity of the diſtemper that will at no remote period prove mortal to her greatneſs.

Admitted

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Admitted—She cannot be compelled to pay the principal of her debt; but ſhe muſt ſupport credit the baſis of her ſyſtem, by paying the annual intereſt. Her ability to accompliſh this even in time of peace, appears very doubtful. Europe impoveriſhed by this deſtructive war will be forced on œconomy; it will with a thinned and impoveriſhed population, conſume leſs; this does not augur well for the encreaſe of trade neceſſary to meet encreaſed taxes. The Engliſh public ſeem to entertain no ſanguine hopes on this head, as appears from the low ſtate of the funds; to prop which the Miniſter has had recourſe to moſt extraordinary ways and means, treble and quadruple taxes, the ſale of the revenue and the tithes, &c.—Theſe ſteps indicate the laſt ſtage of the funding ſyſtem as near at hand. When ſuperficial men talk ſo lightly of the right hand ſettling accounts with the left, they forget that the debt is the meaſure of the waſte and havoc made of national reſources. Money expended in the ordinary way is refunded to productive labour, (its parent) occupied in calling forth the productions of the ſoil, or giving them higher value by manufacture; but that expended in war, ſupports not merely unproductive labour, (like the army of a Roman emperor collecting ſhells on the ſea-ſhore) but labour doubly deſtructive—Whoever periſhes on either ſide may be ſet down as a manufacturer or his cuſtomer, and all the labour employed to feed the cruel ſport is unproductive of any thing but miſchief.

The years of war, like the lean kine in Pharoah's dream, devour by anticipation the fruits of ſucceeding years

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years of peace, and force the induſtrious on extraordinary exertions, to make good the dilapidation. The middling and lower orders are ground with the incumbent weight. Indeed the middle ranks muſt in time diſappear, preſſed down to the lower, and leave no mean between an overloaded population and a luxurious venal ariſtocracy. By the nature of foreign trade great exports muſt be balanced by proportionably great imports; in a land producing neceſſaries theſe muſt be luxuries, to miniſter to the vanity and voluptuous effeminacy of the rich. Vice and venality have always kept pace with the commerce of luxury.

Sum up theſe fruits of the ſyſtem and you will find the infinite bleſſings of Engliſhmen, to amount to this: the extinction of liberty, abſolute power in the crown, venality and ſelfiſhneſs in the great, the deſtruction of the middle ranks, the oppreſſion and degradation of the people, a feveriſh habit of commercial jealouſy, and dread of popular rights; which, through the proceſs of wars, debts and taxes, lead to a rapid diſſolution: The fatal cataſtrophe may arrive before the termination of the preſent war. The prodigious expenditure of England muſt be ſupplied by the labour of her own people; whereas France, by her conqueſts, compels Europe to contribute in her ſupport. Which of thoſe ſources is likely to fail firſt? The ſtock and fee ſimple of Europe, or the ſavings of an overburdened nation? This ſituation is dreadful in the extreme. There is ſtill another danger: The genius of one man may elude or defeat the only barrier that we can oppoſe to the omnipotent land armies of France!

England

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England is brought into this diſaſtrous ſituation, by one capital miſtake in her policy; a miſtake, which infected her people and her councils—forming the character of the one and the ſpirit of the other. She embraced that as the primary object of her purſuit, which ſhould occupy, at beſt, the ſecond place. Dazzled by the ſplendid acquiſitions of Spain and Portugal, in both the Indies, the ſudden greatneſs of Holland, ſhe haſtily concluded, that the ſureſt ſhorteſt road to proſperity and greatneſs, lay through colonization and foreign commerce, without taking into conſideration the innumerable wars, oppreſſive debts and taxes, involved in that ſyſtem, beſides many other evils already enumerated. She will now perceive that agriculture and manufactures are the ſolid pillars of national proſperity—leſs ſhewy than a vaſt foreign trade, they are more ſubſtantial and permanent—leſs obnoxious to envy, caſualty, or the attacks of rivals. The ſupply of national wants by the cultivation of the ſoil and the manufacture of its produce, naturally ſhould form the firſt object of a people poſſeſſed of an extenſive territory.

Commerce deſtined to exchange ſuperfluities for articles of convenience or neceſſity, naturally falls into the claſs of ſecondary objects. By this wiſe policy, Egypt and Indoſtan flouriſhed long with little foreign traide and China has ſtood unmoved, through the lapſe of ages and revolutions of empires, almoſt coeval with the earth.

Wiſdom is commonly the tardy fruit of dear-bought experience;

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experience; happy the nation taught leſſons of prudence and moderation by the failure or misfortune of others—England in the inſtance before us ſhould ſerve as a beacon to warn us from an extravagant attachment to any ſingle object: The cruſades, chivalry, devotion, literature, philoſophy, and commerce, have in their turn engroſſed the excluſive admiration of mankind. Exceſſes of right principles, if they were diſadvantageous to individuals or nations, at particular periods, they were inſtrumental to the progreſs of mind, and of the moral creation—univerſal good purchaſed by partial ill. Even the ſelfiſh jealous ſpirit of commerce, with all its wars and oppreſſions, was undeſignedly the moſt active agent in furthering the moral ſyſtem; it laid open the receſſes of ſea and land, explored the produce of every climate, facilitated the intercourſe of nations; it perfected geography, navigation, aſtronomy, natural hiſtory, botony, chemiſtry, &c in a word, it put in requiſition all the powers of the human mind, the reſources of ſcience, nature and art, and became a PROPAGANDA of civilization and ſcience; it overpowered the ſtern deſpotiſm of the ſword and the mitre, reſtored the liberty of ſpeech and writing; it gave energy to the mind and freedom to the preſs—its beſt organ; it redeemed the people from vaſſalage. and ſet bounds to the crown and the nobles, &c, Such have been the memorable effects of commercial enthuſiaſm.—Effects that would do honour to the moſt ſublime and enlightened philanthrophy have reſulted from the groſs and ſelfiſh paſſion of avarice. Thus

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Thus are the paſſions and deluſions of men, in the hands of an adorable Providence, the inſtruments of the greateſt good, the means of perfecting ſocial order, which might perhaps not ſafely be truſted to the faint and caſual exertions of benevolence.

Uſeful though England has been to the human race in this particular, we ſhould not for the honour of reſembling her, partake her intolerable burdens and dreadful proſpects, with the additional calamity of a doubled or trebled abſentee drain, that would exhauſt the ſources of proſperity, annihilate commerce, arts and population, and conſign the ſoil to ſheep and bullocks—The very ſituation which the jealouſy and intereſt of Engliſh monopoly would aſſign us.

We have ſeen that the arguments made uſe of to induce an acquieſcence in ſlavery and diſgrace, are nugatory—the boons held out fallacious. The meaſure has been proved pregnant with ruin to both countries, more immediately to our own—irrevocable in its nature. Is it in the hope perhaps vain of future tranquillity, that we are to ſubmit to a deſperate experiment, that would cancel all our domeſtic proſpects, and embark us in the tottering firm of Britain. Forbid it honour and patriotiſm and common ſenſe; it would be the extreme of folly were Britain ever ſo flouriſhing and exempt from burdens; but at a moment when ſhe lies at the laſt gaſp, under the experimental tortures of ſtate empirics; and bleeding at every pore, would argue ſomething worſe

THE END.

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6

A

DEMONSTRATION

OF THE

NECESSITY

OF A

Legiſlative Union of Great Britain and Ireland,

INVOLVING

A REFUTATION OF EVERY ARGUMENT WHICH HAS BEEN OR CAN BE URGED

AGAINST

THAT MEASURE.

BY A PHILOSOPHER.

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR JAMES MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1799.

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A

DEMONSTRATION, &c.

WHEN the recluſe moraliſt contemplates in his cloſet the powers and affections of man, what a flattering picture of the perfection of human nature, may not his fond ſpeculations paint! In delineating the comprehenſive draught he may even riot in the enthuſiaſm of imagination, and the ſevere deductions of reaſon will almoſt confirm the warm colouring of fancy. But if, quitting the calm retirement of ſtudy, he views on the buſy theatre of life the hero of his abſtract reſearch, how ſhall he recognize that being, whoſe perfections he has traced with ſuch ſelf complacency and triumph! Should we ſuppoſe him capable of obſerving without mixing in the crowd, it might coſt him many an anxious moment of painful inveſtigation to explain the melancholy contraſt. But, does he himſelf make one of the motley multitude, his doubts may vaniſh, and

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and his wonder ceaſe, he may relinquiſh, perhaps with a ſigh, the ideal object of philoſophic enquiry, and exhibit in himſelf the meaneſt ſlave of prejudice and paſſion. The various queſtions in religion, in morals, in politics, which have agitated, perplexed and inflamed mankind, and which in this refined age of ſcience and of arts, diſtract and deſolate the moſt civilized portion of the earth, exhibit humiliating proof of the malignity of the human heart, and the perverſion of human intellect. Sophiſtry and bigotry, and ſuperſtition, and fanaticiſm, and ambition, and tyranny, ſtill triumph on the ruins of reaſon and humanity. But amidſt the barbariſm and convulſions of ſociety produced by the depravity of man, amidſt the ravages of the ſword and of the pen, ſome ſuperior minds have always ſoared above the morbid maſs of human vice and folly, and if they have not been able to enlighten and reform the brutes around them, they have at leaſt in themſelves vindicated the ways of providence in the creation of man. Philoſophy follows at a diſtance the footſteps of prieſtcraft and ambition, and ſtrives to heal the wounds which they inflict. But while thouſands have uſurped, few indeed have deſerved the ſublime diſtinction, and honourable title of philoſopher. The true philoſopher muſt poſſeſs an underſtanding clear and comprehenſive, and a heart pure and benevolent. Eagle-eyed ſagacity, quick perception, nice diſcernment, ſolid judgment, vigorous comprehenſion, ſtrong memory, a mind at once analytical and ſynthetical, erudition various

and

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and extenſive and yet neither imprinting prejudice nor ſyſtem, a heart untainted by vice, unſwayed by paſſion, candour, moderation and humanity, theſe are a few of the qualifications eſſentially requiſite to form the genuine philoſopher; to form the man, who may, without the charge of preſumption, attempt to diſcuſs any queſtion of importance to the intereſts of mankind. He muſt ſee effects in the womb of their cauſes, and muſt trace the concatenation of human affairs with undeviating rectitude of head and heart. A few ſimple yet comprehenſive principles once diſcovered, and a few ſtrong, leading facts once aſcertained, will enable the philoſopher to deduce a multitude of remote propoſitions, and to propheſy a multitude of diſtant events. With a few ſuch materials he will reſolve the moſt perplexing doubts in phyſics and morals, and predict the revolutions, which muſt convulſe the nations of the earth. He will demonſtrate the combinations and reſolutions, which political aſſociations muſt internally undergo, and the external and reciprocal relations, which they muſt exhibit. Thus qualified I have thought proper to communicate to a benighted people the unerring deciſions of philoſophy, the radiant illuminations of truth, on a ſubject, which ſeems at preſent to agitate ſelf-intereſt, amaze ignorance, and perplex ſtupidity. And I do this partly for the ſake of reforming others, and partly for the ſelf gratification of ſhewing my intellectual pre-eminence. For I do not deem it inconſiſtent with philoſophy to purſue

my

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my own pleaſure, when I do not thereby debaſe my nature, nor injure my fellow creatures. And ſurely the ſimply fortelling of what philoſophic ſagacity perceives to be inevitable cannot impede, though it may not promote the intereſts of mankind. To individuals indeed the fore knowledge of appropriate evil is preſent miſery; but evils, which affect the maſs, the downfall of empires, excite not perſonal intereſt; confident in his own peculiar good fortune, each man allots to his neighbour a portion of the common ruin, and exults in his own immunity.

The queſtion which now occupies, or ſeems to occupy the public attention in this miſerable little iſland, this ſpeck upon the globe, is what I wiſh to ſet at reſt, and conſign to that repoſe, which Philoſophy prepares for the perplexities of man. Will an UNION between Great Britain and Ireland be beneficial or injurious to Ireland? What is meant by this Union it is ſurely unneceſſary to define; that about which all employ their thoughts, their tongues or their pens, all muſt underſtand. Philoſophy is not ſo arrogant as to ſuppoſe men ignorant of the very language, which they invent, it only preſumes to unfold thoſe eternal eſſences, and relations of things, which are altogether independent of human invention, and human reaſon; which may be diſcovered, but cannot be controuled by finite intelligence. Will an Union of Great Britain and Ireland be beneficial or injurious to Ireland? Now, I do pronounce this to be as idle an

enquiry

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enquiry as ever conſumed the moſt precious of all things—time. For I do pronounce this ſame Union to be as inevitable as any conſequence that ever flowed from determinate, adequate, moral cauſes; and to depend as little upon the ſolution of the queſtion, whether it will or will not be beneficial to Ireland, as the death of Socrates did upon the ſolution of the queſtion, whether the hemlock which cauſed it, was good or bad for his conſtitution. The life and conduct of Socrates in the times in which he lived, and among the men who were his judges, unavoidably produced his condemnation and death; and the chymical properties of the plant, which furniſhed the poiſon, only ſupplied the place of ſome other inſtrument of ſtupidity or malice. For any effect it could have had in reſcuing Socrates from the execution of his ſentence, the people of Athens might have been juſt as wiſely employed in analyzing theſe properties, as the people of Ireland are at this day in analyzing the properties of an Union, for any effect it can have on the final accompliſhment of that event. The death of Socrates of old was an event in phyloſophic contemplation, altogether independent of the chymical analyſis of cicuta; and the Union, when it happens, will be an event in the ſame contemplation, eſſentially independent of all political analyſis of the ingredients, which may compoſe it. The remote determining cauſes of the one event and of the other, are equally unconnected with, and uninfluenced by, ſuch idle diſquiſitions.

Another

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Another queſtion, in the eye of Philoſophy as immaterial as the former, has been ſtarted on this ſubject. Has the Iriſh Parliament a right to agree to this Union? And ſome very clear, but very unimportant propoſitions, with reſpect to its incompetency, have been ſtated and enforced. Now this enquiry is juſt as nugatory, and inapplicable to any uſeful purpoſe, as the former. The cauſes which will eſſentially produce an Union, exiſted before ever an Iriſh Parliament had exiſtence, and the competency or incompetency of that Parliament can no more affect the influence of theſe cauſes, than the dog, who bays the moon, can affect its influence on the ebbing and flowing of our ſea.

The laws of matter irreſiſtibly determine the tides of the ocean; and events happened centuries ago, which as irreſiſtibly in their neceſſary conſequences will affect the Union of Great Britain and Ireland in Legiſlative combination. Events happened centuries ago, which in their unavoidable tendencies have made Ireland a dependant acceſſory to Great Britain, finally to be undiſtinguiſhed in the myſtic legiſlative unity of the whole empire; events, which will annihilate the phyſical repugnancies of Nature, and make the ſea as dry land; events few and ſimple, which, while they eſcape the obſervation of the ſhort-ſighted Vulgar, the Philoſopher marks with piercing ken, and eaſily purſues through their remoteſt influences.

When

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When in these latter days, I have heard men luxuriantly expatiate on the advantages of Ireland, her geographical position, her insular strength, her temperate climate, her fruitful soil, her hardy peasantry, her numerous bays and harbours, safe and commodious, opening their capacious bosoms to the Atlantic, and inviting the commerce of the world, her mines, her rivers, her lakes, her canals, her corn fields, her flocks, her herds, as proofs at once of independent structure, and as incentives to follow the loud and imperative call of Nature, I have admired the eloquence, but I have smiled at the delusion. On the face of Ireland Nature with a bold hand has traced the outlines of independence, and had Ireland remained morally as she is physically insulated, Ireland would, no doubt, at this day, be what the warmest fancy could paint, or the fondest heart desire. But from the moment the first English adventurer landed in Ireland, the apparent destiny of Nature was reversed, and war, and carnage, and civil strife, and religious dissension, and brutal manners, and brutal vices, barbarism and beggary, and dependence, became the inevitable lot of Ireland.

What! could all these dreadful consequences follow from this single cause? Was not Ireland, at the very time of this invasion, barbarous in her manners, and distracted in her political institutions, a prey to domestic contentions, and savage crimes? Ireland was then what most nations in their early stages of civilization have been,—the theatre of rude

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ues and of rude vices. Ireland was then what
land had been at a similar stage of social ex-
nce. But the invasion of Henry the Second
sted, by its necessary effects, the natural pro-
s of civilization, which Ireland would others
have shared in common with England herself,
well from the natural course of things, as from
peculiar commercial capabilities inviting
intercourse of the most civilized nations.
was not England herself the victim of foreign
sion, and brutal conquest, yet England is a
day a great and independent nation? T
ent degraded state of Ireland then has not
rily followed from invasion and conquest
t be attributed to other causes inherent
ure of her people. To this I answer, ev
t be considered under all its circumstan
n thus considered, no two facts will ev
isely similar. When Rome, at
erful, whose object was univers
ded and conquered Britain, P
ed to the state of a subject prov
natural consequence of weal
insatiable ambition supp
ngth. But, when upon th
Roman empire, Britain w
quent invasion of that is
properly so called. T
ssful, but their succ
ry, which they inva
hey came. It d

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manent settlement, and final incorporation with the natives. Britain, really possessing more natural advantages and more permanent sources of greatness, than the countries of these invaders, though accidental causes of debility invited their rapacity or ambition, and secured their success, yet by her manifest superiority soon converted the invader into the citizen, conscious of her pre-eminence, and zealous to support it. When William of Normandy invaded England, he aspired to the throne of an independent nation, and obtained it, partly by treaty, and partly by force. But no conquest, however complete at the first, could ever have converted England into a provincial dependency of Normandy. The first William had too much sagacity not to perceive, that the title of King of England was far superior to that of Duke of Normandy. And all his policy in his new kingdom, in the introduction of the feudal system, was only to render more powerful, and despotic, the sovereign of an independent island. The invader and the invaded, the Saxon and the Norman, became blended in the common mass of subjects, with the common interests and the common feelings of Englishmen. But when the relative situation of England and Ireland, at the time England invaded the latter, is considered—England strong in her superior policy, in the unity of her government, in her military institutions,—Ireland weak in the multitude of her petty sovereignties, and domestic feuds, in her civil combinations, and her military attainments—the

conquest

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conquest of Ireland was inevitable. And when the character of a proud, selfish, magnanimous, jealous, commercial, military, feudal nation, on the one hand, and that of a turbulent but divided people, naturally rivals of the former in commercial capacities, on the other hand, is considered, that conquest must have been necessarily calamitous to Ireland. From the relative situation of the two countries, it necessarily became a conquest peculiarly calamitous, inasmuch as it produced provincial subjection without at the same time producing provincial peace and civilization. When ancient Rome had reduced any people from the state of a nation to that of a province, by annihilating all power of effectual resistance to her stupendous strength, she considered the province no longer as a rival, but as a subject state, altogether incapable of resuming an independent station; therefore, with a policy flowing from her greatness, and enlarged views of dominion, she introduced into the provinces her laws, her manners, and her arts. The ravages of her armies were succeeded by the wisdom of her institutions, and the monuments of her artists. Hence, though the provinces were oppressed by exactions, they were not torn by civil and religious feuds; they were not a prey at once to the crimes of civilized society, and of rude and savage barbarism. As the historian remarks, "the "gentle, but powerful influence of laws and man- "ners, had gradually cemented the union of the "provinces. Their peaceful inhabitants enjoyed

"and

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"and abuſed the advantages of wealth and luxury." But England, ſufficiently ſtrong to annihilate national independence, but not altogether to sink the rival in the ſubject, her views being partly directed to military glory and partly to commercial aggrandizement, partook of the ferocity of the one, and the ſelfiſhneſs of the other. She poſſeſſed the luſt of dominion without that grand unity of deſign, which a ſimple plan of univerſal dominion produced in ancient Rome: becauſe, from her inſular ſituation, ſhe is fitted only for commercial purſuits. When England invaded Ireland, though ſufficiently powerful to devaſtate, ſhe neither poſſeſſed the reſources nor the armies, to produce general and peaceful ſubjection; and through all the ſubſequent wars, which fill the bloody annals of Iriſh hiſtory, we obſerve neither the ſplendor of conqueſt, nor the liberal plan of an enlightened commercial policy. I have heard men declaim on the true intereſts of England, and gravely inſiſt that it would be the true intereſt of England to purſue a different line of conduct towards Ireland; that it would be the true intereſt of England that Ireland were really independent, and that the two countries were connected only by the ties of reciprocal advantage, and mutual affection. If ſuch men will point out a ſingle inſtance in the hiſtory of the world, of a nation ſuch as England purſuing its true intereſt, I then will grant that the landing of Fitz-Stephen in Ireland was not neceſſarily productive of all the calamities of Ireland. But until that inſtance is produced

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deed I must be allowed to call the men, who thus declaim, shallow rhetoricians, and to dignify myself with the title of philosopher, who takes things as nature has made them, considers men as they are, not as they ought to be, and thus traces the remotest consequences to their primary efficient causes.

The superior power of England at the time of the second Henry, with her subsequent policy flowing from the general vices of man, and the peculiar vices of her political and commercial economy, has unavoidably produced the degradation of Ireland, and will ultimately effect the legislative Union of the two countries as necessarily as the properties of a triangle flow from its figure. Mr. Locke says, that moral truth is capable of strict demonstration. I say so too, and before I have done I will prove experimentally to the satisfaction of the dullest apprehension the justness of that opinion. I am surprised that Mr. Locke, who was a philosopher of the highest order, made such a fuss and parade about so very obvious a proposition; and I am still more surprised, that as he thought illustration necessary, he did not select the very instance of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, and its unavoidable termination, as most happily illustrative of what he so anxiously laboured to establish. Thus—Ireland an island blessed with more natural advantages than England also an island, a next door neighbour, from accidental causes divided, and inviting invasion—England invades—War—Desolation—Subjection—Discontent—Rebellion—Re-subjection, with a sys-

tem

tem of confusion and disunion civil and religious —Weakness—Provincial Dependence.—By this chain of ideas, thus visibly linked together in train, that is, each intermediate idea agreeing on each side with those two it is immediately placed between, the idea of an island blessed with more natural advantages than England, but from vicinity and weakness inviting invasion, and the idea of provincial dependence, appear to be connected as intimately and essentially as the first and last terms in any series of mathematical demonstration can possibly be. Let us continue the series still further—from provincial dependence follow—Ignorance—Barbarism—Crime—the triumph of the wicked and the dismay of the good—an incorporate Union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland. Now I ask, whether the connexion between the extremes in this concatenation of ideas is not clear, and whether the Union of Legislatures does not necessarily flow from the natural advantages of Ireland—from her geographical position, her insular strength, her temperate climate, her fruitful soil, her handy peasantry, her numerous and capacious and commodious bays and harbours, her rivers, her mines, her lakes, her flocks, her herds, and all the other proofs of her independent structure? It is strange what very different conclusions the vulgar and philosophic mind will draw from the same proposition:—the wild Irishman, from the acknowledged truth that Ireland possesses more natural advantages than England, with all the rashness of uncultivated reason concludes, that Ireland must

be

be independent; whereas the philosopher perceives that, from this very circumstance of the exuberant bounty of nature towards her, has unavoidably arisen the dependence of this blundering country*.

In the foregoing demonstration, an incorporate Union of British and Irish Legislatures is proved to be essentially involved in the natural progress of things; it will follow immediately from the triumph of vice and the consternation of virtue; but remotely and primarily from the relative situation of the countries centuries ago, inviting the rapacity of invasion, provoking the jealousy of narrow policy, and in the advancement of British speculation, awakening and strengthening the malignity of national pride and commercial monopoly. It may be objected, perhaps, by inconsequential reasoners, that in the above series of concatenated events, that of provincial dependence is misplaced, for that provincial dependence cannot precede, though it may follow the legislative incorporation of the countries: and that, since in point of fact Ireland enjoys an independent Parliament, Ireland never can be a province until her independent Parliament becomes merged in Legislative Union. Now here appears the superiority of philosophic over common ratiocination.

* "Le despotisme ecrase de son sceptre de fer le plus beau pays "du monde: il semble que les malheurs des hommes croissent en "proportion des efforts que la nature fait pour les rendre heureux." Such is the reflection which Savary makes at the sight of Egypt. The history of man has hitherto too fatally justified the observation. O when may we venture to pronounce

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.

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nation. Had Ireland indeed an independent Parliament, a Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland never could take place. The relative ſituation and connection of the countries neceſſarily produced inferiority and dependence on the part of Ireland, and that inferiority and dependence will as neceſſarily produce the Union of Legiſlatures: and to ſay that an independent Parliament could ever be merged in and coaleſce with any other Legiſlative Aſſembly, ſo as thereby from the very nature of the incorporation to loſe all its properties, its powers, and its faculties, is a manifeſt contradiction. An independent national Parliament in its very eſſence contains a principle of individuality and ſeparate exiſtence, and as long as that principle remains, that is, as long as the Parliament is really independent, it is impoſſible it can ever unite with any other Legiſlative Body, which Body muſt from its nature, in the very act of combination, annihilate all the properties of the former. And herein lies the difference between Great Britain and Ireland with reſpect to the Union of Legiſlatures, that the Britiſh Parliament, an independent national Parliament before the Union, will ſtill remain the ſame Being, eſſentially unaffected by that Union. But the very act of Union neceſſarily involves in it the annihilation of the Iriſh Parliament, and therefore were that Parliament really independent it never could be annihilated but by force, it never could conſent to its own deſtruction, becauſe a ſeparate exiſtence would be a part of its eſſence. If there-

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fore appears evident that the ideas of an independent Iriſh Parliament and of an Union of Britiſh and Iriſh Legiſlatures are incompatible, or in other words that the idea of dependency neceſſarily precedes in the mind the idea of that Union. *Quod erat demonſtrandum.*

Thus then the ideas in the foregoing ſeries follow each other in conſecutive deduction: the relation between the countries from its very nature producing dependence in the weaker, and that dependence ending ultimately in the abſolute and perpetual merger of its Legiſlature. For juſt as in law, when a greater eſtate and a leſs coincide and meet in the ſame perſon, without any intermediate eſtate, the leſs is immediately annihilated; or in legal phraſe, is ſaid to be merged, that is, ſunk or drowned, in the greater; ſo by the coincidence of Britiſh and Iriſh Legiſlatures in the perſon of the Britiſh miniſter, the Iriſh Legiſlature being the leſs will be immediately annihilated, or merged, that is, ſunk or drowned, in the Britiſh. The term for years muſt have a termination by merger in the inheritance, and ſhall never exiſt any more.

Away then with ſuch idle topics as the incompetency of Parliament, and original compacts, and the terms of the Union, and Eaſt India trade, and Weſt India trade, and Channel trade, Rum and Tobacco and Sugar, and Woollens, and Linens, and Cuſtoms and Drawbacks, and Navigation laws, and Britiſh capital, and Dublin ruined, and Cork and Waterford not enriched, and articles infringed, and

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and where is your ſecurity; and look to Scotland, and her malt tax, and can one hundred repreſentatives be better than three, and free trade, and ſimple repeal and renunciation, and abſentees, and taxes, and ſtreets grown over with graſs, &c. &c. &c. Every conſideration of the kind has juſt as much relation to the ſubject of a Union as the metaphyſics of hierarchical creeds have to the eternal intereſts of mankind. To the philoſophic mind, though not equally unintelligible, they are equally unimportant. Will any man undertake to demonſtrate that the Engliſh never invaded Ireland—'tis well—he ſpeaks to the purpoſe. But as a negative is generally difficult to be proved, and in the preſent caſe peculiarly ſo, I do not inſiſt that whoever denies my conclusion, ſhould prove my firſt propoſition, with reſpect to the fact of invaſion under all its circumſtances, falſe. No, I am not ſo unreaſonable. But, admitting the fact of invaſion connected with the relative ſituation of England and Ireland, I do boldly challenge the moſt unintelligible metaphyſician, the moſt uncharitable theologian, the moſt corrupt ſtateſman, even Mr. Pitt himſelf, to ſhew that the nature of the connexion between the countries, with all its various modifications and conſequences, has not inevitably followed from that one primary cauſe, and that a more intimate Union, or fuſion, or amalgama of their Legiſlatures muſt not finally take place from the ſame efficient cauſe.

Mr.

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Mr. Pitt has one half of the philosopher in his composition. He wants the heart, but he has the head. And as in logical inference the head alone is concerned, I need not appeal to that which he does not possess. Brains, not feelings, are necessary in the present discussion. Mr. Pitt's understanding is as clear and comprehensive, as his feelings are obtuse, and while the press is teeming with pamphlets, the offspring of self-interest, or of ignorance, or of vanity, or of that most inveterate of all diseases, the cacoethes scribendi, Mr. Pitt with all the keenness of philosophic sagacity sees the inevitability of this amalgama of Legislatures; and the only doubt, that can suggest itself to his, or any philosophic head, upon the subject is, whether the precise moment has arrived when the fusion will most easily take place. And this naturally leads me to an enquiry of secondary and indeed of very subordinate importance, with respect to the time, when that Union, which has been demonstrated to be inevitable, is actually to happen. Now in this enquiry strict demonstration cannot be had, probable inference can alone be expected. It is by observing this distinction between the objects of mental research, that true philosophy avoids all that perplexity, which characterises the false. Mr. Locke has written a voluminous treatise, the professed design of which is to ascertain the bounds between opinion and knowledge, and never was human intellect more usefully employed. Mr. Locke was a real philosopher, so am I, and there-

fore

fore I do not attempt to give demonstration where in the nature of things probability alone is to be had, I know the length of my tether, and have found the horizon, which sets the bounds between the enlightened and dark parts of things. Nor is there any contradiction in being able to prove that an event must happen, and yet being ignorant of the time when it is to happen. We may have sufficient data to demonstrate the one, and yet be altogether ignorant, or have only probable evidence of the other. Thus, it can be easily demonstrated from the nature of the Deity and of man, that the wicked shall be punished in another world, and the good rewarded, and yet we may be absolutely ignorant of the time when that final distribution of justice is to take place. Again, it may be demonstrated, from the structure of the human body, that unless some miraculous interposition snatches him from his fate, man must one day die, but the precise moment when, finite intelligence cannot ascertain, though in this case it may form probable conjectures of the period of dissolution. Just in the same manner from the structure of the Irish body politic, unless some interposition, superior to the ordinary train of events, arrests the course of nature, the political death of Ireland is demonstratively certain, while the precise moment of her dissolution is the subject of probable calculation alone. * The *skillful* physician

* I have said the *skillful* physician, therefore let the faculty beware of denying the position, which I have laid down, since

phyſician knows that the ſprings of life muſt one day be worn down, becauſe he has phyſiological data, on which this knowledge is founded, but as ten thouſand cauſes, not eſſentially involved in the nature of the human frame, but purely accidental, may accelerate or retard this event, and indeed as the primary cauſes of death, though eſſentially involved in the nature of that frame, have no diſcoverable quality, which muſt limit their operation to any fixed period, the phyſician can only conjecture, with various degrees of probability, the hour of ſeparation between the periſhable clod, and the immortal ſpirit, by which it is moved and animated. The analogy is complete. There are certain political data, from which the philoſopher can demonſtrate the fall of empires and the diſſolution of ſocieties, but as theſe data do not in themſelves contain any principle, which limits their operation to any certain time, and as the ſubordinate and accidental cauſes, which may accelerate or retard, cannot

ſince the denial will not prove the poſition falſe, but only expoſe their own ignorance of nature. I do affirm that it can be clearly demonſtrated from the vital organization of the human body, that it muſt one day be decompoſed, that the aſſimilating organs muſt gradually loſe their tone, and the abſorbents carry off more from the different parts, than what they receive in the way of nutrition, that the irritable fibre muſt become rigid, the membranes and cartilages oſſify, the bones grow too hard, the ſmaller veſſels collapſe and diſappear, the parts no longer be obedient to the action of ſtimulants, death muſt enſue, and the ſyſtem return to moulder with the duſt.

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not be known, or their quantum of energy cannot be demonstrated, the exact time, when any political change is to take place, can only be conjectured. In the human body there are certain fatal symptoms, by which the physician can declare that death is not far distant; and in states, when the period of dissolution draws nigh, there are also symptoms of mortality, which the philosopher marks, and from which he forms not knowledge, but opinion. And some such symptoms do at present appear in Ireland, which seem to mark her for an early grave. Though death is inevitable, it is not therefore palatable. The annihilation of the Irish Legislature by an incorporate Union with that of Great Britain is as inevitable as death, and may be just as unpalatable. The only question therefore with a British minister can be whether at any given time it may be convenient to strike the fatal blow, and the only thing, that now occupies the thoughts of Mr. Pitt, is the solution of the problem, whether at this time Ireland would probably expire with much or little struggle, with the feeble groan of universal debility, or the convulsive agonies of partial strength. And many reasons must occur to the minister, which seem to make it highly probable that no more favourable moment than the present could be chosen for the deed of death. To enumerate them would be only to detail a black catalogue of horrors, which, while philosophy deplores, she also perceives to have been inevitable. They are necessary links in the

chain

chain of cause and effect. They are the unavoidable consequences of commercial jealousy and unfeeling pride, supported by superior strength, preying on the weakness of a rival. The history of man has not yet presented an instance where such causes have not produced similar effects, where the wantonness of power, strong enough to tyrannise, but not sufficiently great to be above suspicion or fear, has not trampled on the rights of humanity with the most vexatious and afflictive imperiousness. The history of man never can produce an instance of two nations similarly situated and similarly related, where the weaker shall not suffer similar calamities. From the days of Henry the second Ireland has exhibited scenes of blood and desolation, and religious fury, and debilitating disunion, which were the natural consequences of a few of the events of that king's reign. And England must have been, what no commercial and warlike nation, with the same degree of relative strength, ever will be, just and merciful, or the connexion must have been to Ireland, precisely what it has been. I have heard much of a plan for uniting Irishmen of all religious persuasions in the bonds of brotherly affection. I have sympathised in the benevolent wish of harmonizing a discordant people, but I have pitied the visionary hope of success. I have been astonished that men of quick insight into things, and deep knowledge of human nature, could ever seriously entertain so extravagant a scheme, and I could

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could only aſcribe the deluſion to that romantic turn of mind, which men of great intellectual powers, but of ſanguine tempers, and ardent fancies, frequently diſplay. Archimedes boaſted that if he had another earth he could remove this, which we inhabit. Archimedes ſpoke like a ſober mathematician, he only required a certain given power to raiſe a given weight: It was a mere queſtion of calculation. But, the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland being given, I defy the ableſt ſtate Arithmetician to calculate the power, which would be neceſſary to unite Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions in purſuit of their common good: Certainly no finite power can ever accompliſh it. Things having once received a certain conſtitution and certain laws of action, that conſtitution and thoſe laws continuing the ſame, their operation can be altered only by ſome force eſſentially effecting the operative powers themſelves; and therefore, the cauſes which have hitherto produced religious diſunion in Ireland remaining in their full force and vigour, the diſunion itſelf muſt be as permanent, as the cauſes.

In the ſolution of the problem, which alone, as I have ſaid, will engage the attention of the Miniſter on the preſent occaſion, namely the expediency of the preſent time for blending the two Legiſlatures into one, or more properly ſpeaking, for merging, ſinking, or drowning the Iriſh term for

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years in the Britiſh fee-ſimple, he may doubtleſs derive much aſſiſtance from the temper and tone of mind with which the propoſition ſeems to be received. With this view the ſubject appears to have been ſtarted by the Miniſter for public diſcuſſion, that is, for diſcuſſion by that very ſmall portion of the people, which can dare to utter any free opinion upon any political queſtion. And the opinion of one body of men, in particular, of this deſcription, ſeems to have been ſtudiouſly courted, or provoked. Of the very few, whoſe public voice can at this time of general diſmay be uttered with ſafety to themſelves, the gentlemen of the Bar are apparently the moſt reſpectable. And, from the ſpirit which they have ſhewn in oppoſition to the propoſed Union, Mr. Pitt may, without much ſhrewdneſs, conjecture what he has to dread from the temper of that part of the nation, which can dare to ſpeak. It would ſeem indeed as if he deſigned to make the Bar the great touchſtone of that temper, by endeavouring to add the active principle of reſentment to thoſe of ſelf-intereſt and patriotiſm, and thus diſcovering the utmoſt ſtrength of the oppoſition, which he has to apprehend. He has therefore told them that their diſapprobation of the Union was taken into his calculation, that he foreſaw, and deſpiſed it, that it would be venal, and therefore could not be formidable. Perhaps a greater inſult never was offered to the feelings of men than has been offered to their's, in a publication

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tion notoriouſly written under the auſpices of the Miniſter. Not to feel and reſent the indignity, would indeed ſanctify the inſolence, from which it flowed. The Miniſter ſeems to have conſidered them as fallen from that proud eminence, on which Nature had placed them, into the diſgraceful obſcurity of vulgar corruption. He ſeems to have conſidered them as ſelf-emaſculated beings, that the form of men remained, but that their ſtrength was gone. Theſe ſurely could not have been his real ſentiments of the Iriſh Bar. He only wiſhed to add the exacerbation of perſonal inſult to the force of patriot feeling, in order to meaſure, on the largeſt ſcale, the reſiſtance of Iriſh loyalty to the meaſure of an Union. What concluſion Mr. Pitt may draw from the tone of the Iriſh Bar, I will not venture to pronounce; but from the complexion of the opinion, which they have publiſhed on the ſubject, I certainly deduce a propoſition directly the contrary of what their opinion enunciates, namely, that this is the very juncture not only to propoſe, but to carry, the meaſure of a legiſlative Union of this kingdom with Great Britain. With one part of their opinion however, I agree. This Union will be an innovation, that is, it will be the introduction of ſomething new—innovation, from *in* and *novus*—And, if it introduces Sir B—— R—— into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, it will undoubtedly introduce a novelty, which the Britiſh Houſe of Commons will very much wonder to behold.

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hold. In this ſimple and harmleſs ſenſe I do admit that the Union will be an innovation, it will juſt be an innovation in the ſame ſenſe, that any thing may be ſaid to be an innovation, which happens for the firſt time. But if the Gentlemen of the Bar mean to convey an idea by the term innovation, that the Union will be ſomething contrary to firſt principles, ſomething inconſiſtent with the paſt connexion between the countries, I then differ with them in this part of their opinion more widely than in the other. For I do aſſert, and I think I have clearly demonſtrated, that the Union of Legiſlatures will follow from the very nature of that connexion, as neceſſarily as any effect ever happened from an adequate cauſe. Indeed, unleſs the preſent and paſt connexion of the countries is conſidered with relation to, and as directly tending to produce this great effect, it muſt appear the ſtrangeſt anomaly that ever was exhibited in the political ſyſtem, a kind of Zoophyte in politics, a middle being of an amphibious character, * a diſjunctive adverſative conjunction,

* The philological reader will eaſily recogniſe ſome of the language in this deſcription. And why have I adopted it? preciſely for the ſame reaſon that it was originally uſed: becauſe I am attempting to explain what I do not underſtand. What! not underſtand that Connexion about which you have written ſo much? The Connexion about which I have written I do perfectly underſtand. I have conſidered it as it has exiſted in fact, and not in definition. Viewing it thus, I clearly perceive what it has been, and what it is, and I foreſee what it will end in. But when I ſtrive

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junction, disjoining with an oppoſition concomitant the intereſts of the two countries, while it is ſuppoſed to conjoin the countries themſelves, preſenting to the mind no fixed palpable idea, which it can graſp and explain, but an homonymous ſomething between connexion and no connexion, having at once the attributes of connexion and no connexion,—a kind of myſterious, ineffable, metaphyſical abſtraction, looſely floating in the brain, without either delighting the fancy, or ſatisfying the underſtanding, having all the indiſtinctneſs, without the imagery of poetical viſion.

But as ſoon as this connexion is conſidered with reſpect to its final and neceſſary termination, it no longer appears an undefinable obſcure term, invented to conceal ignorance of nature in the myſtery of language, but conveys a clear and determinate idea to the mind, and whereas before all was chaos and confuſion, we then inſtantly diſcover order, and harmony, and beauty. We are no longer diſtracted with the jargon of parts ſeparated and

ſtrive to conſider this Connexion as repreſented by others, I then freely confeſs I do not underſtand it. When I hear of *imperial independent* Ireland, and her *independent* Parliament, and in the ſame breath of Engliſh influence and Engliſh councils directing and controuling that *independent* Ireland, and that *independent* Parliament *ad libitum*, and that the Connexion between the countries conſiſts in this very coincidence of independence and of influence, I am altogether at a loſs to comprehend ſuch contradiction and myſtery, and cannot help conſidering it as the jargon of ſelf-intereſt or of ignorance.

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and yet conjoined, but are pleaſed with the contemplation of one continuous whole.

Ut per læve ſeveros
Effundat junctura ungues.

Indeed on due conſideration it will appear, that the Gentlemen of the Bar themſelves did not underſtand the term innovation in a ſenſe different from the obvious and primary one of the introduction of ſomething new; for they do not declare that a Legiſlative Union of this kingdom and Great Britain would violate any known fixed principles, but on the contrary, they ſeem virtually to admit that it would not, while they merely deprecate it as a novelty, which they would not wiſh to ſee introduced in their own generation. The reſolution publiſhed by the Bar, when viewed in this light, diſcovers ſome philoſophic ſagacity, it ſeems to imply a conviction, that an Union is an event, which muſt ſome time happen, but which may be accelerated or retarded by ſecondary cauſes. And no doubt the Reſolution was intended as a retarding cauſe. In my opinion it will operate as an accelerating cauſe. But this by the by.

But while I have thus demonſtrated the inevitable termination of Britiſh and Iriſh Connexion, in an incorporating Union of Legiſlatures, and offered ſome conjectures with reſpect to the time of corporation, I beg I may not be [illegible] tempting to inſinuate that ſuch [illegible] neficial to Ireland. I have [illegible] a Philoſopher, the de[illegible]

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cauſes, and ſhewing that truths founded on certain phyſical and moral relations muſt be as immutable as thoſe relations; that, while the relations remain the ſame, no modification of circumſtances, not affecting the eſſence of the relations, can affect the properties, which flow from that eſſence. I would turn the literary mind from nugatory diſputation about the powers of Parliament, and the legiſlative, commercial, and financial conſequences of the Union, to the only ſubject of diſcuſſion really worthy of employing the philoſophic underſtanding, which delights in the contemplation of abſtract truth, and in tracing effects to their primary cauſes. What though it may be proved, by a laboured induction of particulars, that an Iriſh independent Legiſlature can alone know, and feel, and promote the intereſts of Ireland, and that an Union of Britiſh and Iriſh Legiſlatures muſt annihilate whatever remains of the phyſical and moral ſtrength of Ireland, will that ſhew that ſuch an event will not take place? or can ſuch a detailed inveſtigation of a part afford any pleaſure to the Philoſopher, who ſees the whole at a glance; who, merely from the knowledge of one or two facts laying the foundation of certain relations, can rapidly deduce a long ſeries of conſecutive truths? Can he receive information or delight from a verboſe proof of a ſingle propoſition, which he intuitively perceives to be neceſſarily connected with an antecedent link in a compendious demonſtration? Muſt he not rather feel

ſorrow

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sorrow and humiliation, to see the intellectual powers of man wasted and abused,—to see the divine particle, which should soar to Heaven, fixed to the earth,—

(Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ,)

to see time prostituted on disquisitions, of which the events and the interests of time are altogether independent.

But what exposes the extreme ignorance, as well as folly of the champions of what is called Irish *independent* Legislature, who think by words to arrest the inevitable destiny of a people founded on real essences and immutable truths, is, that the very topics, on which they insist as reasons against an Union, are among those minor and subordinate causes, which, though they could not essentially affect an event independent of them, have certainly accelerated the time of its accomplishment. Such are the apparent benefits to Ireland, which Irish Legislation seems to have produced. * Free Trade, Simple Repeal, Renunciation, have all hastened the Legislative incorporation of the kingdoms; for, though they did not contribute an iota to the real independence of Ireland, they loudly proclaimed the inconvenience and expence of a distinct Legislature, and its incompatibility

* Upon such an occasion Sancho Panza might say, *muchos van por lana, y buelvan trasquilados*, without incurring the charge of misapplying his proverbs, so often made against him by the Knight of the sorrowful Figure.

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patibility with the grand unity and indivisibility of consolidated empire. The dramatic unities of time and place are rather the arbitrary dictates of a dogmatist, than rules founded in the principles of nature; and Shakespeare, who has written in the most wanton violation of these unities, will exercise a magic power over the heart, while it possesses a single chord, which can vibrate to the touch of genuine passion. Not so the unity of Government, this is founded in nature, here all the parts must conspire to form one consistent whole, there must be no *imperium in imperio*, no independent dependency, no unconnecting connection, one common life must pervade every member, one common will must direct every muscle. It is from its direct tendency to produce this happy consummation, that the British Constitution has become the envy and the admiration of the world; the idol to which the sublime genius of a Burke bowed down, and which he worshipped with all the glowing imagery of poetic Gentilism. With what supreme contempt would this great man and grand pensionary have treated the simple panegyrist of Irish independent Parliaments! he would have described him as one shooting in the dark, and therefore liable to perpetual blunders, as one praising and censuring merely by chance, who, though he might possibly to fools appear as a wise man, must certainly among the wise ever pass for a fool, that his intellect comprehended politicks as his eye could comprehend a distant prospect,

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pect, he might see perhaps enough to know mountains from mole-hills, but for an accurate discernment of governments, and their character, this it was impossible he should attain.

Some few Irish Parliamentary Characters have been denominated Patriots, and if merely to mean well to our country constitutes the idea of a patriot, perhaps they deserved the appellation. But they cannot at once deserve the title of patriots and philosophers. Did they indeed act from the pure motive of doing good, and not from the corrupt principle of sacrificing Truth to Ambition, they may have felt the influence of Philosophy on their hearts, but their intellect could not have been irradiated by its illuminations, or they never would have wasted their time and their talents in asserting idle claims of independence, and in trifling disputation about the respective merits of Renunciation and Simple Repeal.

But among all the causes, which have influenced the event of an Union, not in its essence, but merely in the accidental modification of time, in my mind there is not one, which has contributed so powerfully to its acceleration as the vote of the Irish Legislature on the question of Regency, during his present Majesty's indisposition. Though that vote proceeded not from any romantic principles of Irish independence, but from the rational principles of arithmetic, which coldly calculated the chances for and against the King's recovery, and consulted not

Price

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Price on civil liberty, but Price on annuities; though it was not the refined paganism of antient Rome or of modern France in embodying a mixed mode, and hailing Liberty as a goddess, but the obvious and vulgar idolatry of worshipping the rising sun, yet did it demonstrate, more forcibly than any empty assertion of independence by Simple Repeals or Renunciations, the inconvenience and danger of distinct Legislatures. The famous round Robin wore the appearance of a desperate conspiracy, which the tie of self-interest and false honour, substituted for the obligations of virtue, rendered more truly formidable to the British Cabinet, than all the manly eloquence of the argumentative Flood, or all the pointed invective of the epigrammatic Grattan. It experimentally impressed on the mind of Mr. Pitt an argument for hastening the Legislative incorporation of the countries, never to be effaced.

As another cause accelerating this event may justly be reckoned the character of the minister himself. The ruling passion of his soul is ambition, or the desire of power and celebrity, with the most stoical indifference as to the rectitude of the means of their attainment; and the consolidation of two kingdoms by an union of Legislatures, the *one and indivisible*, appears not ill calculated to give eclat to his administration. With philosophic acuteness he sees that this consolidation must inevitably happen, and his first wish will be gratified by the accession of power and of fame, which he must derive

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derive from its completion in his own miniſtry. It is true, he may be loaded with curſes by an enſlaved people. But the man, who conſumed the temple of Diana, attained the object of his deſire, every lover of the arts repeats his name with execration. Did hiſtory only regiſter the juſtice and the humanity of ambition, her records would lie in a nut-ſhell.

The Britiſh miniſter has alſo at this time in Ireland the moſt convenient inſtruments of a deadly purpoſe, that a murderous heart could wiſh—cold-blooded aſſaſſins of a nation's rights. There are crimes of an open and daring complexion, which genius and courage reſcue from contempt. Some crimes ravage like a tempeſt, they are ſublime in their deſolation. But in the character of thoſe men, who live by the debaſement of Ireland, by ſacrificing her intereſts and her rights to the malignant jealouſy of a rival, who barter for gold Iriſh liberty, and Iriſh blood, we ſee all the baſeneſs of a depraved mind without any of the grandeur in which even villainy is ſometimes cloathed. We abhor and we deſpiſe. More convenient panders to ambition nature never formed. More apt and ready inſtruments for completing the work of provincial ſervitude time can never furniſh. Men ſo completely contemned by a nation excite no intereſt in the public mind, and any new inſtance of treachery will be heard without emotion, becauſe public ſcorn is already too intenſe to be increaſed. Theſe men too know that they are deſpiſed,

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despised, which must heighten their malignity*. It would seem indeed as if the minister had purposely reduced them to a state of hopeless perdition, lest a chance of pardon might lead to repentance. Or perhaps he thought to increase the loathing of the country to such a degree that it would gladly swallow any potion, which might enable it to spew out such abominable foulness. Nay, do we not hear the official advocate for an Union urging the vileness of these men, as an argument for the measure? In the corruptor what matchless impudence! in the corrupted what abject depravity!

Various other topics might be urged to shew that the event of a Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland is probably not far distant. Though to the self-interested of the present generation this may be the most important enquiry, to the impartial philanthropist it is an enquiry of very inferior moment. To demonstrate that it is an event, which

* Upon a similar principle eunuchs have been considered by Eastern despotism as the most faithful slaves, cut off by the ignominy of their condition from the rest of society they seemed on that account more strongly engaged to an entire attachment to their master, on whom their whole fortune depended, and by whose means alone it was, that they were of any consideration. ἄδοξοι ὄντες (says Xenophon) οἱ εὐνοῦχοι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεσπότου ἐπικούρου προσδέονται. These despicable creatures however were generally found equally enemies to prince and people, their sole view being to get possession of the prince's mind, and to hide affairs as much as possible from his knowledge. *Claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

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which muſt follow from certain fixed and immutable relations, has been my principal deſign. Whether it is an event to be deplored or rejoiced in by Iriſh patriotiſm, or by Iriſh venality, is a queſtion unworthy of Philoſophy, which only ſeeks to diſcover and to apply uſeful truths. And what uſeful purpoſe can it ſerve to tell man, when he ſhould laugh, or when he ſhould mourn? Philoſophy only condeſcends to inveſtigate thoſe eternal verities, which ariſe from the agreement or diſagreement of abſtract ideas. The ſame ideas will eternally have the ſame habitudes and relations, and, when the philoſopher ſhews that any two ideas concerning ſome important intereſt have certain habitudes and relations, he performs a ſervice worthy of ſcience, becauſe uſeful to man. Can it be demonſtrated that vice muſt neceſſarily lead to miſery? Let men be virtuous, if they would be happy. Can it be demonſtrated that every province muſt ſurrender all its attributes phyſical and moral to the arbitrary control of the worſt paſſions of the human heart? LET NO COUNTRY SUBMIT TO BE A PROVINCE, WHICH HAS STRENGTH TO BE A NATION. But to tell a tributary people that it is not pleaſant to pay the exaction, which follows from its relative exiſtence, without pointing out the mode, by which it may be reſcued from extortion, is to wound with inſult, not to illuminate with ſcience.*

We

* The philoſopher would tell ſuch a people that the true mode of redreſs is not by coldly declaring that it is only obliged to pay a certain tribute, and that the exaction is an *innovation*: but by boldly diſſolving altogether that CONNEXION between the ruling and the ſubject ſtate, from which both the tribute, and the exaction flow,

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Probitas laudatur et alget.

We hear encomiums on independence, but not one word how independence is to be obtained. Go, tell the wretched negro, writhing beneath the lash of the unfeeling planter, how far preferable it would be to roam through the wilds of his native Africa. Go, and then call yourself his friend.

Oh Ireland, Ireland, I have not insulted misery by panegyrising happiness. I have endeavoured to reconcile you to your fate, by shewing that it is an essential link in the great chain of human affairs, connecting together, cause and effect, that it is necessary to that unity of will, which should direct every part of the British empire, and which it must be the first wish of every British minister to effect. That it may not be the wish of the true Irish heart I can readily conceive. But if it is an evil, the evil that is known to be irremediable may be alleviated by patience. Sweet is the enchantment of hope—but the soul is sickened by hope deferred, and the multiplied pangs of disappointment impair the energies of life. Sweet is the enchantment of hope—but Philosophy only sacrifices at the altar of truth, and cannot cherish the delusions of fancy. And yet Philosophy does not affect to communicate the secret of either not feeling, or of despising calamity, but teaches men to bear with firmness the evils which cannot be removed. Philosophy would not torture the hopeless slave, by teaching him the ideas and the language of freedom. In the man who is doomed

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to experience the curſe of dependence, the bold ſpirit of expreſſing the feelings of nature without diſguiſe, ought to be ſubdued, from the conſciouſneſs that it cannot be gratified. The emotions of the heart are frequently too ardent for our ſituation, and it muſt be the ſtudy of our lives to conquer or conceal them.

" It is thou, Liberty, thrice ſweet and gracious " Goddeſs, whom all in public or in private wor- " ſhip, whoſe taſte is grateful, and ever will be ſo, " 'till Nature herſelf ſhall change—no tint of " words can ſpot thy ſnowy mantle, or chymic " power turn thy ſceptre into iron—with thee to " ſmile upon him as he eats his cruſt, the Swain is " happier than his Monarch, from whoſe court " thou art exiled." Sterne wrote to the world, and mankind are compoſed of freemen and of ſlaves. But had he only addreſſed the wretch born to no inheritance but ſlavery without hope, he had uttered the language not of benevolence but of cruelty. The water which approaches, without touching, the parched lips of Tantalus, is the fabled malignity of Hell.—" In thirty years the " weſtern breeze had not once fanned his blood— " he had ſeen no ſun, no moon, in all that time— " nor had the voice of friend or kinſman breathed " through his lattice." Go, thou Champion of Iriſh *independent* Parliaments,—go, and tell him of the refreſhing Zephyr, the genial light and heat, the ſoothing balm of Friendſhip and of Love!

THE END.

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UNCONNECTED HINTS,

AND

LOOSE IDEAS

UPON THE

U N I O N,

WITH

TWO PROPOSITIONS.

BY A MIMBER.

A Roach is a fiſh of no great reputation for his dainty taſte; his ſpawn is accounted much better than any other part of him.—He is accounted the Water-ſheep for his ſimplicity and fooliſhneſs; and it is noted that a Roach recovers ſtrength, and grows in a fortnight after ſpawning.

WALTON'S ANGLER.

If a *Gudgeon* meet a *Roach*,
He dare not venture to approach,
Yet ſtill he leaps at flies.

SWIFT.

RIDENTEM DICERE VERUM, QUID VETAT?

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY MARCHBANK,
18, CHANCERY-LANE;
ALSO, BY GILBERT, MILLIKEN, AND RICE.

1799.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE juſt this moment read a Pamphlet, and as I underſtand that many more will be ſhortly written, I haſten to give my ſentiments thereupon, as well as a few Arguments of my own, that, I flatter myſelf, will fix the fluctuating, and decide the determined.

My Two Propoſitions at the latter end, may appear ſomewhat heterogeneous to thoſe who are ignorant of the Papiſh and mechanick powers; but the inchitiated will do me the juſtice to think, that, though they never can by any poſſibility occur, they nevertheleſs comprehend the rational, the feaſible, and, under exiſting circumſtances I will venture to add, the neceſſary.

When

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When I ſat down to compoſe the following ſheets, ſays I to myſelf,

> Speak of me as I am—nothing extenuate,
> Or ſet down aught in malice.

And, in truth, I have faithfully kept my promiſe—my opinion, ſentiments and feelings, flow warm from my pin—and the whole man is made manifeſt—but as a man's name has no ſort of connection with him, and as he has an incontrovertible right either to give or to withhold it, from the Publick—my intention, on the preſent occaſion, is, that my name ſhall be anonymous.

UNCONNECTED

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UNCONNECTED HINTS,

&c.

AS an Union in general gives occaſion to a vaſt deal of diviſion, I think it is the duty of every mimber, as well of Parliament as of Society, to throw in his mite of pacification, and, as moſt certainly writing pamphlets is one way of keeping up the flame, I think people ſhould abſtain entirely from publiſhing, till the thing is decided one way or the other; for, before that happens, being all in the dark, little light can, by any means, be thrown upon the ſubject.

A great deal has been already ſaid upon this matter.—Some people will have it, that an Union will take place; others aſſert, that it will not—for my own part, I believe neither

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the one nor the other, but follow implicitly the opinion of my worthy coadjutor in *repreſentation*—who declares, page 1, that it is only "rumoured,"—I am an independent man, independent of my penſion; ſo, whether Government be pleaſed or diſpleaſed, I am free to confeſs, that an Union upon any terms, or upon no terms, is the only thing that can, in my mind, under exiſting circumſtances, do the buſineſs of Ireland. But before I offer any arguments upon this point, I think it neceſſary to make a few remarks on one or two pamphlets that have made their appearance on the other ſide; theſe I ſhall treat promiſcuouſly, as it were, and in a-devil-may-care way, which will, I think, be more pleaſanter to myſelf and my readers, than dry reaſonings, ſpeechifyings and *irreverent* inductions.

Mr. Weld, the Counſellor, begins with Scotland, which is, in my mind, a ſtrong proof of his Cockyeatthis ſcribbendi.—The Union, he ſays, (p. 5.) has been prejudicial to her, "though he adds in (p. 6.) fated to perpetual ſterility, that unfortunate country had nothing to loſe by a connexion with any other," which, in plain Engliſh, ſignifies that ſhe was deeply injured, though ſhe could not be worſe—why a corpſe

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a corpſe might as well complain of being diſſected! This puts me in mind of a ſtory about a footpad, who ſtopped me ſome thirty years ago, before I got my penſion, when I had nothing to loſe, tripped my legs from under me, and robbed me of nothing at all—upon the ſame, I got up, and while he was looking another way, I knocked him down and cried out, Stop, thief; we went before a juſtice, and I was bound over to perſecute him; but unwilling to touch his life, I ſwore to the value of 4*s*. 9*d*. or ſome trifle of that kind, and the poor fellow was only tranſported for fourteen years.

"The quality of mercy is not ſtrain'd,
"It droppeth like a gentle Jew from Heaven,
"Upon the place underneath."

SHAKESPEARE.

But I deny that fact—totis virulence—Scotland, I inſiſt upon it, *has* profited by the Union; the evils that ſo long impended over the heads of the inhabitants, eſpecially of the metropolis, are now in great meaſure removed, and juſtice is adminiſtered with clean hands!—for almoſt all the capital houſes have neceſſaries, and not above thirteen out of twelve, of the natives, are tormented with the itch; whereas before

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before the corporation, the proportion was as twenty and nine.

He goes on in a very animated ſtrain to obſerve, amongſt a variety of other reaſons againſt the connection, that Ireland is environed by the ocean, juſt as if that were a cauſe of its ſeparation, or that God Almighty's ſurrounding one iſland with the ſea, was a *ſubſtantial* argument againſt its junction with another.—If ſuch an obſtacle is to prevent an Union of the kingdoms, it ſhould alſo have prevented an Union of the Diadems, and given us, which, the Lord of his infinite mercy forbid, but half a crown a-piece—and with regard to the King's reſiding in Britain (p. 6.) I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that if he did not, he would be an * abſentee, a claſs of individuals, which

* They may talk as they will about them, but I know my affairs never went on ſo ſwimmingly as when I was one. I was abſent only about eighteen months, and found on my return, two of the loveliеſt babes I ever laid my eyes upon. I remember it was about the time of the French Revolution; a week after my arrival, I was lying aſleep, and at two o'clock I wakened dreaming, a moſt extraordinary dream; indeed I was ſo agitated in my dream, that I wakened my Lady, and, My Lady, ſays I, do you know what I'm dreaming? No, ſays ſhe: Why then I'll tell you, ſays I.—I thought that the French landed and broke into our houſe—and

which the Counſellor, it ſeems, holds in contempt; for his Majeſty, God bleſs him, muſt live ſomewhere, as every body knows he could not be in the three kingdoms at the ſame time, unleſs, like Porteus, he was four or five gentlemen in one.

An Union with England, he exclaims, "will triple the number of abſentees."—Why was there ever ſuch nonſenſe? Why? ſure when by an Union the two kingdoms become one, there can be no abſentees at all, for then all the people that is in England will be in Ireland, and vicious verſes, all the people that is in Ireland will be in England. But no, ſays the Counſellor;—if an Union once takes place, the devil fire the one will ſtay in Ireland to extend the population; but, like the Elephants, they will keep it all to themſelves. The eſtated gentleman will diſplay his gold, (*guilt* I ſuppoſe he means) Carros in London; and the gentry will

and upon breaking in, that after obſtuperating you, they cut off my head, and put it on the table to ſtare me in the face.—Oh gracious! ſays ſhe, did you feel much pain?—No, in troth, ſays I; for I was ſo frightened with the whole tranſaction, that I remained quite inſenſible, till my head cried out to my body—Blood-an-ouns, Sir B. quis ſeparabit—to which I anſwered with the ſame tongue—Nabackliſh.

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will live at Bath and Britehamſtone. The mechanic and manufacturer will emigrate to America; and, if the Lawyer does not follow them, he will parade "the abdicated hall of the Four-courts, and go each day from court to court; and when the crier and he are *ſeated*, in the Exchequer for inſtance, why then, the cryer will cry to the *empty* court, to-morrow God will ſave the king. As for the attornies, ſaving your preſence, like the Laplanders, they will ſet up a drum manufactory, as their wives did before them; or turn pawn-brokers." When there is nobody to borrow, and conſequently nothing to lend, "the * phyſician will

* I know he ſhall never phyſic me again, or more properly my lady; for indeed it was more her fault than the potticary's.—Laſt June twelvemonth I was in the country with a harneſs in my belly, and a rumbling noiſe that ſometimes cried whop; for which a little bole-almanack was proſcribed;—but after ranſacking the houſe, not even a directory was to be found; ſo what did my wife anontze to me do, but boils up an old greaſy Robinſon Cruſoe, which I have not yet, nor I fear never ſhall be able to digeſt. This alteration in the medicine was near coſting me my life, for I got the gout in my bowels, which aſcended, and ſettled in a great ſwelling in my toe; ſo having no ſhoes by me that were not fellows, I ordered a pear, one bigger than the other; but I leave you to judge what I muſt have felt in that preſent irritable ſtate, when upon trying to clap them on, I found the

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will phyſic the dogs, and the muſicians, for they are ſitters, will ſtrike a broken ſtring, and naturally enough produce a "diſcordant note," with an accompaniment of the cries of the killed; which, as he judiciouſly obſerves, will harmonize into the ſhape of a *dead march.* As for Dublin, he ſays, it will be entirely bedivided; the graſs is to grow in College-green, and all the houſes *to be let for ever.* Indeed in that idea he agrees with a friend of mine, who called on me the other day—Kildare is deſerted, he cried, and Wicklow is deſerted; but by *Jaſus*, if the Union takes place, Dublin will be more completely deſerted than Kildare and Wicklow *put together.*—Why what a prepoſterous argument is this?—Did the Union deſert Edinburgh?—No! the great majority of the towns-people remained there, becauſe they could go no where

the raſcal had made them, one a great deal leſs than the t'other.—Upon my credit my indignation ſo bothered the pain, and killed the anguiſh of it, that, weak and feeble and unable to ſtir, as I was, I leathered the fellow every yard down ſtairs, and deprived him of my cuſtom ever after. Indeed this circumſtance induced me at that time to think, and I am ſince confirmed in my opinion, that he was one of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, who wiſhed to give me a ſpecimen of *equality*, and a hint that *he intended* ſoon to be on the *ſame footing* with me.

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where elſe; and only thoſe emigrated, and thoſe only, who had either fortune or talents to ſupport themſelves elſewhere. And do not you think it would be exactly the ſame way in Dublin? *I am* poſitive it would. Though ſtrongly affected by a paſſage in (page 13:) my duty to the public prevents my feelings from carrying me away.—One gentleman aſks another, "whoſe lofty caſtle is that yonder, which, contemptuouſly, frowns upon that wretched hovel, more appropriately deſcribed by a *Twiſs?*" *—Sir, ſays the other, "it is a lordly abſentees;" ſee, behold, they both cry, the rain and the ſnow deſcending through the roof-leſs *walls* (which if made, as they uſually are, of *clay*, might be more appropriately called *filtering ſtones*) do you ſee his little innocents holding out their helpleſs, infantine, unpolluted hands to the elements, &c. &c.

"Now

* One would think the counſellor had gone far enough, but the Reverend Denis Taafe goes much farther, for not content with a hovel's being a Twiſs, he ingeniouſly calls the whole iſland, "to uſe a ſcripture phraſe," as he ſays himſelf,—"*a looking-glaſs*"—(ſee page 21 of his pamphlet)—If Ireland is this day your foot-ſtool; to uſe a ſcripture phraſe,—your—*infandum, regina!*—I imagine from the ſimilarity of their ſentiments, that the counſellor and the prieſt have been for a long time *pot-companions*, as upon this occaſion their ideas literally *flow* through the *ſame quill*.

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Now all this, though I am ſure it is true, is very ſtrange, to me at leaſt; for in my parts the rain and the ſnow comes through the roof, and not through the walls; and if by unpolluted he means not dirty, upon my credit I do not believe there is a little garſoon in the country that would clean and cleverly anſwer the definition.

Of the Reverend Dennis Taafe, the Prieſt, I ſhall take no notice: I have every reaſon to believe him a Roman Catholic; and, therefore, will have nothing to do with him:—for that ſect there is but one remedy, which I ſhall point out hereafter.

The productions of Meſſrs. Spencer and Rudd, &c. who have names, and of the other friends to Ireland, who have none, I ſhall equally paſs over; they all appear to me to have thought the ſame way that the Counſellor thought, only he thought firſt. As to the Bar-meeting, I ſhall content myſelf with one obſervation.——* An individual, amongſt

 the

* Another gentleman thought fit to obſerve, that we were governed by the rump of an ariſtocracy.—Now I deny the

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the ſpeechers, took upon him to ſay, God and Nature have ſeparated the kingdoms, and, by G—, they ſhall never be united. Now I ſay, by G—, they ſhall.—I do not intend commenting upon the indecent and obſcene impiety of his expreſſion, but comfort myſelf with the conviction, that my aſſertion will have as much weight as his; and my by G— be to the full as reſpectable.

Having cleared away the rubbiſh ſo far, I now come naturally to the delivery of my promiſed Arguments in favour of an Union.

And the firſt Argument I ſhall advance in its favour, is, that it will deſtroy the Iriſh Parliament.

My learned coadjutor very truly obſerves in page 11 of his inimitable pamphlet, that "the counſels for the government of Ireland are framed in the Britiſh Cabinet. The Government of Ireland is actually adminiſtered by a Britiſh

fact fundamentally;—but were it true, I think, as a chairman he has for ever *degraded* himſelf in the opinion of all parties.—The conflict between one of the oppoſitioniſts and my coadjutor, has thrown the former into ſuch a heat, that I really can only compare it to the battle of *Ballinamuck*.

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Britiſh Lord Lieutenant, who diſtributes the patronage of the crown.—The Iriſh Parliament is ſuppoſed to be *in a great degree* ſubject to the Britiſh influence, and near one million of the rents of the kingdom are annually exported to abſentees; the jealouſies upon theſe points are great and unavoidable, and form the perpetual topics for inflaming the minds of the people in newſpapers, and the unvarying theme of complaint and invective by parliamentary oppoſition."

Beware, my Lord, of jealouſy, ſays Iago; it is a green-eyed lobſter, &c. the ſame obſervation I may with truth, apply to this country: Beware, my fellow-citizens, of your P——; it is a green-eyed lobſter, &c. but to drop the metaphor, and reſume the level tone of common ſenſe and ſerioufneſs, I am free to confeſs, that I agree moſt entirely with my learned and able coadjutor, in this opinion, what with bribery at elections, and corruption afterwards, the morals of the higher and lower claſſes are certainly contaminated; and after it is aſſembled, the trouble and expence of managing it is really terrible. Some of the gentlemen are ſo preſſing, and others ſo refractory, that to ſatisfy them all is next to impoſſible;

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poſſible; and yet ſatisfied they muſt be, for "ſo long as we form part of the Britiſh empire, we muſt acknowledge one executive power, *one preſiding cabinet*, and it is of *indiſpenſible* neceſſity for *that cabinet*, to induce every part of the empire to purſue the ſame principles of action, and to adopt the ſame ſyſtem of meaſures, *as far as poſſible*; and as *the Intereſts of England muſt ever preponderate, a preference will be always given to her.* From all which it is clear, that "the Iriſh Parliament is, *in its inſtitution*, independent; but if it was *practically* ſo, the empire would be diſſolved, but that would be a great pity; therefore it muſt be practically dependant * on the

* One Swift, who was very properly perſecuted by Chief Juſtice Whiteſhit, took upon him to be of a different opinion—for, he ſays, talking about ſome raps that wanted to be current in thoſe times, "In this point we have nothing to do with *Engliſh miniſters*, and I ſhould be ſorry to leave it in their power to redreſs this grievance, or to enforce it. *The remedy is wholly in your own hands*, and therefore I have digreſſed a little, in order to refreſh and continue that ſpirit, (mind, that ſpirit!) ſo ſeaſonably raiſed amongſt you—and to let you ſee, that by the laws of God, of Nature, of Nations, *and of your own Country*, you *are, and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England.*"—Did you ever hear the like?—pretty doctrine indeed—Why, if a man publiſhed ſuch ſeditious ſtuff now, he would run a great riſk of being half-hanged

the empire, and as the people are ſuch damned fools as to be diſſatisfied with this dependance, I am entirely of opinion that the beſt mode of removing the diſſatisfaction, is to confirm the dependance; and that annihilating the legiſlature, is the moſt effectual way of preventing the nation from diſparaging it. Reform is out of the queſtion—even Dr. M'Nevin has given that up.—No, a total alteration is your only alternative; for, ſince Mahomet won't come to the mountain, why, the mountain muſt go to Mahomet.

Perhaps I may be ſuſpected of talking intereſtedly upon the ſubject of parliamentary locomotion, becauſe the Houſe have not upon many occaſions liſtened to my idayas with all that gravity and ſerioufneſs which they certainly merited. Amongſt a variety of

hanged at the leaſt; but no matter what he ſays—for I have undoubted proof which I ſhall bring forward at the proper time, of his having been an United Iriſhman; and the Savour knows it too, with whom I never converſe, without carrying away a vaſt deal of *information*.—I imagine him to be related to Dean Swift, who made himſelf ſo buſy with the Statues of Trinity College; but noſetur a ſocie—tell me who you are, and I'll tell you where you live. Verbumb-Sat.

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of inſtances, in which it did me the honour of laughing at me; there is one which I cannot omit, for having only ſaid three words, it is impoſſible I could have been ridiculous, as in the courſe of a long ſpeech, the beſt and moſt moral men may occaſionally and conſtitutionally be. A worthy friend of mine, about ſix years ago, who ſat by me one evening, and being unaccuſtomed to the buſineſs, was really ſtraining a point to make a motion, was informed by a grey-hound that his lady was ſafely delivered of a very fine child; about ten minutes after, the joyful intelligence arrived that another had made its appearance; and in half an hour more, Providence bleſſed him with a tird. My dear, Sir ——, ſays he to me, taking my hand, (Oh! I remember it as if it was to-morrow,) My dear, Sir ——, I am the happieſt man in the world; I have long wiſhed for a family, and having three babes at a time, in this manner, is, as it were, *killing two birds with one ſtone*; but as this muſt be very laborious to my wife, and as I don't, at preſent, wiſh for any further encreaſe to my family, I'll juſt ſtep home and tell her ſo; for if I remained to make my motion, ſhe might be bringing to-bed to oblige me for an hour or two longer. I muſt therefore

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treſpaſs upon you to make my apology: I acquieſced, and, as ſoon as I caught the Speaker's eye, delivered myſelf in the following manner, and I leave you to judge whether there was any thing to laugh at:—Sir, ſays I, an honourable friend of mine, who was ſtriving to bring on a motion, but whom circumſtances of a parental nature have conſtrained to move off, commiſſioned me to inform you, that his lady has been recently delivered from three twins; and as he could not diſcover here, whether they were obſcene or of the common of two, he ran home to be informed whether he was a father or a mother.

The next argument I ſhall offer in favour of the Union is, that it will reduce our money to the ſame ſtandard. It is a very great hardſhip upon our reſpectable abſentees, that what is a thirteen-pence at Ringſend ſhould be only twelve-pence at Harrowgate. I am very ſure, that to the Duke of Devonſhire, my Lords Courtenay and Landſdown, the Biſhop of Briſtol and the Widow O'Flanagan, it makes a difference of ſome hundreds per ann. The confuſion alſo that the youths of this country are ſometimes involved in, is clearly in favour of

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my poſition. I ſpeak from my own experience. I was ſure to be knocked down for an Iriſhman, the moment I ſaid, be pleaſed to give me two-pence half-penny out of my two-and-eight-pence, which is a very great diſadvantage to a man who wiſhes to riſe in England. Now, when the values of the coin is equalized, we ſhall give our money without aſking any queſtions, which will be more agreeable to the people at the other ſide, who are fond of ſaving us the trouble of ſpeechifying, and averſe to our aſking them for *change* of any deſcription.

The third Argument I ſhall bring forward is, the ſloth of the inhabitants of this country; it is a ſelf-evident propoſition which I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate, that our natives are the moſt active people, with regard to every thing relating to idleneſs, that ever exiſted; and the cauſe of this is to be attributed to two things ſolely; Firſt, to their having nothing to do; and, Secondly, to their Parliament not ſufficiently taxing them. Is it not a ſin and a ſhame at this period of high civilization, when all the nations in Europe, except thoſe whom Great-

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Great-Britain ſubſidizes, are making rapid ſtrides towards paper-gold and bankruptcy; that our country, which has ſuch a multitude of reſources, ſhould only have a flea-bite of fourteen millions on her back, while England has the honour of owing near five hundred. And now let me aſk, what is it enables her to pay the intereſt of this glorious debt? Why? the taxes ſhe impoſes! —And what is it that makes the Engliſh laborious, and frugal, and induſtrious? Why? the taxes they are obligated to pay! it is neither their agriculture, though it has been *nobly* encouraged of late, by a *national foundation* of *three thouſand a year*. It is not their commerce, for it is circumſcribed. It is not their manufactures, for they are declining, that have brought them to the ſtate in which they now are. No, but it is their taxes; and when we are united with them, and our repreſentatives have ſerved a ſlight apprenticeſhip to the Britiſh tax-mongers, and go hand in hand with them, who is ſo weak as not to be certain that we ſhall be reduced to exactly the ſame ſituation? Yes, the ſhittle will beat, and the ſludge will fly, and the loom will creek, and the needle will thread; from that propitious area, my poor deluded countrymen will be employed, they will be bleſſed with a ſtated

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occupation, and have certainly ſomething to do, were it only to pay the taxes.

My fourth Argument, I am free to confeſs, may appear upon the face of it a little lucrative —it is this—the moment the Union occurs, and the Iriſh houſe is no more, our members, who will then be in Great-Britain, will get all their Engliſh letters free; this will not only prove a great national ſaving, but completely remove the neceſſity of our Parliament-mens' being obliged to pay poſtage, which, under our preſent, or, as in a few months it will be, more properly ſpeaking, our former ſyſtem, is a diſagreeable and degrading exception to their general law and invariable cuſtom, of paying nothing nor nobody at all. I ſaid, that this may wear the reſemblance of lucre, but it is certainly not that which in my particular inſtigates me—for all my connections in Great-Britain, it is well known, are pure Iriſh, ſo that I can ſafely aver I don't receive *an Engliſh letter* from one year's end to another.

The next, becauſe it is the fifth Argument I deprecate the public attention to, is founded on an idaya, in p. 27. of my worthy coadjutor's inimitable performance—"Whilſt Ireland re-"mains a ſeparate country from Great-Britain, "Great-

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" Great-Britain is not *pledged* upon any *ſpecifick* " *principle to ſupport one ſect*, in Ireland, more " than *another*. If ſhe cannot preſerve the con- " nexion of the two kingdoms, by upholding " the Proteſtants in their eſtabliſhment, their " power, and their property; I know not by " what tie ſhe is debarred from *aſſiſting* the " Catholics; for whilſt the kingdoms are *ſe-* " *parate* and *independant*, Ireland, *except where* " *the Crown is concerned*, is merely bound by " the ties of intereſt to England, and in a " ſimilar manner, England is only bound by " the rights of the Crown and *the ties of in-* " *tereſt* to Ireland. She is pledged to preſerve " Ireland to the Britiſh Crown, but not to any " *particular means, or any particular principles* for " maintaining that connexion. But, if Ireland " was once united, &c. then the *whole power* " *of the empire would be pledged to the* Church " Eſtabliſhment of Ireland, &c."—Oh! for the love of God, I conjure, I deplore you, do any thing, do every thing, to perſuade Great-Britain from aſſiſting the Catholics—they are a terrible ſex!—They believe that the Pope is at Rome, and that a wafer is a neck of mutton, which is two things that I never will ſwallow. Let them once be taken by the hand, the Proteſtant aſcendancy becomes unſupportable, and of conſequence falls down.—Oh! haſten to cimint the

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the Union, becauſe by that means, the empire will be pledged to maintain the Church eſtabliſhment, and conſequently debarred from aſſiſting the Papiſh, which would then ſit down quiet and continted, becauſe there would be fourteen to one againſt him,* and conſequently, in Ireland, at leaſt, he would never hope to riſe into a majority.

But facts ſpeak for themſelves. I know what the Papiſh is, and if he acted ſo by me when I was a priſoner in a garret, what would he do if he had the whole nation in the ſame predickeyment? During the late combuſtion, it was my fate to be captivated, during which time I got red herrings and buttermilk for my breakfaſt, and ſometimes, by way of variety, nothing at all for my dinner. Such conduct, you may judge, threw me into a ſtate of deſpair. So one morning, by Jaſus, God forgive me, ſays I to myſelf, it is more fitter and decent for you, ſtill meaning myſelf, to defunk——but having no inclination to be damned over and above, being kilt, and recollecting that ſewaſide was a crime, I applied to the

* Darby, there is two to one againſt you.
O'Keefe.

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the centry who was ſtanding over me, and, Sir, ſays I, would you be pleaſed to do an unfortunate gentleman a kind office, which he will never forget the longeſt day he has to live?—With all my heart, ſays he. What is it? To pike me, Sir, ſays I, making a low bow. Nothing would give me greater pleaſure, Sir, ſays he; but having received no orders yet, it is totally out of my power to oblige you, unleſs you make it worth my while—upon which I tendered him a Beresford. My dear Sir, ſays he, I muſt beg leave to aſſure you, that I would not pike a cat, let alone a gentleman of your notoriety (as he was pleaſed to ſay) for all the Beresfords in the Bank—but give me a draught upon any good man in Dublin, and it will be the ſame to me as caſh. Accordingly I drew the bill, and I gave it to him; but he was relieved in two minutes afterwards, and I never ſaw the thief from that area till about two months ago, when the bill came to me proteſting that it muſt be paid; but I proteſted that I would not, for I had no idaya of being cheated after ſuch a manner; if he had piked me, well and good—but being alive, and under no manner of obligation to him,

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him, I reſolved to be litigious; ſo into the courts we came, and after the Counſellors on both ſides had finiſhed their reſpectful botherations, to make a long ſtory ſhort, the Judge inſiſted upon looking at the peaper, and after peruſing it, Pray, Sir, ſays he to me, do you ever recollect having been kilt at any period of your life?—No, my Lord, ſays I, for Paddy Foy or Berer was relieved; why then, ſays he, looking up at the jury,* the caſe is clear,—you muſt nonſuit the plaintiff, as the defendant never got any value received.—Beware, I ſay again, and again I repeat it, of the Papiſh,—he will neither pike you nor ſtarve you to death; and if reſintment at ſuch conduct induces you to make away with yourſelf, by Jaſus he will go to law with you after you are dead; and inſtead of letting the Coroner bring in, *a died ſuddenly of a lingering diſeaſe*; he will blow upon your memory, with a *ſe defindindo*.

And this naturally leads me to my ſixth and laſt but one Argument, which is this, that whenever

* As the public may be curious to know the verdict, I will mention it, ſix-pence-halfpenny damages, and a pinch of ſnuff for the coſts.—I remember Mr. Mc. D—, the Tobacconiſt, was fourmen upon Eſſex-bridge.—*Quid* rides.

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whenever the Union takes place, we ſhall loſe the reproachful appellation of Iriſhmen:—this, ſome ſqueamiſh ſtomachs may find hard to digeſt; but truſt me they will be very few;*—and let me aſk them, who in their ſenſes would boggle at exchanging an old coat for a bran new livery; or who, to put it in another point of view, that had the misfortune of being deſcended from an A, or a B, or a C, or, as I ſaid before, from an A B of C, would not ſeek to get rid of his name by ſinking it even in a feminine fortune, or wrapping it up, like obſcenity, in a title—Name! what is name! *does not every woman change her name, and why ſhould not we?*—Anſwer me, you patriots at large, have not things been done here that make us weep for ſome Iriſhmen, and bluſh for others? and ſhall we

* As there may be ſome people found weak enough, or wicked enough, to read the Drapier's Letters; I beg leave, particularly, to warn them againſt the following paſſage: "A people long uſed to hardſhips loſe, by degrees, the very notions of liberty; *they look upon themſelves as creatures at mercy*, and that all impoſitions laid upon them by *a ſtronger hand* are *legal and obligatory*;—hence proceed that *poverty* and *lowneſs* of ſpirit to which *a Kingdom* may be ſubject as well as a particular perſon;—and when Eſau came fainting from the field, at the point to die, it is no wonder *that he ſold his Birthright for a meſs of pottage.*"

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we regret a title that every way affects us, either with ſorrow or with ſhame? Away with it! away with it!—Henceforward we will be *Great-Britaniſts*—for being neither Iriſh nor Scotch, we have no alternative.—Come, Union, then—heal our difference, abſorb our blood, and deſtroy our diſtinction—embark when you pleaſe, for the moment you land, *we are Iriſhmen no more!*

The ſeventh, becauſe it is the laſt Argument I have to offer, is founded on the ſecond and third natural effects of a *favourable legiſlative Union*, according to my reſpectable and much-eſteemed coadjutor; viz. Secondly (ſee page 26) Ireland would be in a *natural ſituation*, for all the Proteſtants of the empire being united, ſhe would have the proportion of *fourteen* to *three* in favour *of her eſtabliſhment*; whereas at preſent there is a proportion of three to one againſt it; and thirdly, the Catholics would loſe the advantage of the argument of *numbers* which they at preſent enjoy, and the conſtitution of the empire would agree with the theory.

This

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This is ſo exceedingly plain, clear, and downright, that I hardly think it neceſſary to ſay a word on the ſubject; for what does it amount to?—In Ireland, *as it is*, the Catholics are three to one—in the empire, *as it will be*, the Proteſtants will be fourteen to one; conſequently, in the empire, *as it ought to be*, the Proteſtants in Ireland will be as fourteen to one;—why ſure this is undeniable—the rule of three direct, in vulgar arithmetic, to a fraction.—The conſequences of ſuch an increaſe, it requires but little ſagacity to diſcover—a multiplication of biſhops and aſcendancy—a ſubſtraction of prieſts and combuſtion—peace, harmony, and orange lillies, not forgetting the *grinder*.—A ſtop will be put to canvaſſing for burroughs, and the electors will ceaſe to be bribed and corrupted—we will ſend a cargo * of repreſentation, by long ſea, to Weſtminſter,

* As ſo valuable a freight muſt have a convoy *of Revenue Cutters*, (for I am ſure no Iriſhman would inſure it,) I beg leave to ſuggeſt to our merchants the phizibility of exporting, by the ſame opportunity, a few hundred tons of our Kilkenny Coal to Newcaſtle, and of our Kinnegad Cheeſe to Glouceſter;—it will prove a moſt beneficial ſpeculation, as I underſtand their manufactory of the former article is on the decline.

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and take, in return, a budget of right good genuine Britiſh taxes, *neat* as imported; we ſhall be all upon a footing with regard to felicity, though a few may be *lords of the aſcendant*; this, and a great deal more, (which I ſhall not expatiate on till I ſee whether it will exiſt or not,) muſt be the neceſſary conſequence of an Union—a meaſure, which therefore, as the lover of my country, I ardently languiſh for;—nor is this to be wondered at, ſeeing, as I do, that the nations are united under one Crown, and only ſeparated under the ſame legiſlature.—To this purpiſs I have ſpoken, and having ſpoken thus, I withdraw.—It now remains to add this ſupplication:—However it may pleaſe the Almighty to diſpoſe of Princes and Parliaments, may ſuch a ſeparation of the kingdoms laſt for ever; or may their Union, before it takes place, be immortal!

PROPOSITION

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PROPOSITION I.

FROM what has occurred in the foregoing pages, I might be made to think that Union would *immediately* compoſe all our differences, and impart to us tranquillity and peace;—but this I depreciate,—for my ſincere opinion is, that four or five years might elapſe before this meaſure would make Ireland what ſhe ought to be, and what ſhe *certainly* will become.

One circumſtance, and one circumſtance only, can pave the road towards the expedition of theſe deſirable objects, quiet and eaſineſs; and I offer it to the country at large, in the full conviction that it will meet with the ſerious and deep attention that it deſerves.

Want of unanimity, and eſpecially on religious topics, has been the bean of this iſland.—To re-eſtabliſh this, appears to me to be the grand diſſideratum;—and ſince the late unhappy combuſtion, has induced the Proteſtant to adhere to his tenets with increaſed tenacity, but one mode of reſtoring concord remains; and if the Catholics of this kingdom will not be univerſally obliging enough to turn Proteſtants,

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Proteſtants, I fear that the two perſuaſions muſt continue diſunited, and all thoſe conſequences follow that have gone before.

But as it might hurt the majority's pride to ſuckum in the way I have juſt now pointed out, four or five alternatives preſent themſelves to me, by which they may eſcape this mortification;—the firſt, though in the event it may be military to the intereſts of the aſcendancy, I will nevertheleſs ſuggeſt, for quiet is my firſt object, and all other conſiderations are in general inferior to that which is paramount;—there are five millions of all ſorts in the kingdom;—ſuppoſe then that the Papiſhes changed into Proteſtants, till two millions and a half—if they could be brought even to do this, though in the event we ſhould have much more weight than they, the two ſexes would be in equalliberio, and the Miniſter, like an aſs between two bundles of he, would be equally beneficial to both, becauſe he would not be obligated to aſſiſt neither.

And let nobody flout at theſe religious alterations and additions;—every day's experience proves the propriety of *changing ſides* in general, and particularly when any great object

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is to be attained, while antiquity ſanctions it with her antient great ſeal.

The founder of the changling ſex was Pithagoras's;—he left his country, becauſe it was governed by a tyrant, and travelling far and wide in ſearch of knowledge, ſettled at laſt in that part of Italy which is called Greece; he was celebrated for learning, a gold thigh, and an odd idaya;—he averred that a freeman could be converted into a ſlave, a miniſter into an apoſtate, a commiſſioner into a petty prince, and a biſhop into a leader of a party.—He declared that he himſelf, at different periods of his exiſtence, had been an expectant at a great man's levee;—then a clerk,—then a M— of P—, then a ſecretary, and then a Union-monger; he afterwards meandered into a footman, inſpired a Ballad-ſinger, was ſtrained through a pimp, vivified the wrigglings of a maggot; and, finally, animated the aſpirations of a louſe;—and who can ſay "that the laſt ſtate of this man was not better than the firſt?" *—he called his doctrine metemſicoſis, which is the latin for tranſmogrification, would have nothing to do with *beans*, and of courſe abſtained from *corporations*, and ſpoke a vaſt deal in favour of ſilence; which leads me to think

* Vide ſomewhere in the Teſtament.

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think that he muſt have been either a page of the back-ſtairs, or a Privy Counſellor.

My firſt expedient being perhaps impracticable, I ſhall not inſiſt upon it;—but on my ſecond, I own, I found the ſtrongeſt hopes, ſupported as it is, by expediency, reaſon, and Pithagoras;—on this ſubject, I ſhall, therefore, ſay no more, but deviate into my

SECOND.

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SECOND PROPOSITION,

WHICH, as I well know the generoſity of my native countrymen, I am very ſure they will accede to.——— It is a fact agreed to on all hands, that the trade of Dublin will not be improved by the Union; indeed ſome people go ſo far as to aſſert, that it will be injured, which I do not care a farthing about; for Cork, Kilkenny, Dunleary, Waterford, and, in fine, all the other principal ſeaports in the kingdom will be benefited; and it is a well-known maxim in politics, that harm *ought* to be done, becauſe good will come of it;—if this be ſo, as we ſhall have very little, if any occaſion, for our Cuſtom-houſe, my humble ſuggeſtion is, that the Commiſſioners do write a polite card to Mr. P—, requeſting his acceptance of the ſame;* and as the one in London is

* Thoſe who are unacquainted with Archimedes may laugh at the idea of removing the Cuſtom-houſe—they ſhould recollect, however, that he lifted a man of war with a lever, and would have done the ſame with the world if he had had any thing to ſtand upon. If this be ſo, why ſhould not the people, at the other ſide, contrive to move it *ſomehow with a ſpring?* —And let me aſſure theſe gentlemen infiddles, that the laugh will be completely againſt them, when ſome morning or other they

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is too old to bear a removal to our Liffey, I would at the ſame hint the phizibility of converting the Parliament-houſe, which will then be equally unoccupied, into the Cuſtom-houſe; it is already contagious to the water, and when the dirty dwellings in Fleet-lane are thrown down, it will be much nearer; but at all events, the water may be brought cloſer to it, or perhaps it may be found leſs expenſive to approxrimate it towards the water; the Committee Chambers will make excellent offices; the Houſe of Lords become the apartments of *the tide-waiters*; and the Houſe of Commons, as it ſtands, is, as every body knows, admirably calculated for a *Long-Room.*

At this moment, particularly, it is eſſentially neceſſary to keep England in good humour; and I don't think we could hit upon a genteeler or prettier don damitchy than that I have juſt now propoſed as a Chriſtmas Box, and

they will ſee their Cuſtom-houſe departed, and not a veſtitch of it remaining, but the quays and the Dock, and the little houſe that tells about the tides. But incredulity is grown to a terrible pitch—we will go on diſbelieving, till at length we'll finiſh by diſbelieving nothing at all.——Oh tempora—oh mores.

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and when this is received, I ſee nothing to hinder us from throwing our trade into the bargain, as a token of our gratitude and attachment, in the ſhape and under the denomination of a New Year's Gift. I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that this ought to be done immediately, and of conſequence, before the Union takes place; for if it be delayed till *after* that meaſure, we can in fact *give* nothing. Once married to England, our poſſeſſions, like a wife's, merge in the prerogative of the huſband; let us therefore precipitate our gift, while it yet continues in our power to impart; for afterwards, it would be the very driveling of vanity to affect generoſity, when in reality we ſhall have nothing left to beſtow.

THE END.

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REPORT

OF THE

DEBATE

OF THE

IRISH BAR,

On SUNDAY, the 9th of DECEMBER, 1798,

ON THE

SUBJECT

OF AN

UNION

OF THE

LEGISLATURES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE RESOLUTIONS AND PROTEST.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1799.

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IN

PURSUANCE OF THE FOLLOWING REQUISITION,

A

MEETING

OF THE

IRISH BAR,

WAS HELD, ON SUNDAY 9th DECEMBER,

"THE undersigned Members of the Bar, request you will convene a Meeting thereof, to be held at the Chancery Chamber, on Sunday next, the 9th inst. to take into consideration a subject of the utmost importance."

Edward Mayne,	J. W. Bell,
Charles Bushe,	William Saurin,
H. Joy,	W. C. Plunket,
Charles Hamilton,	A. C. M'Cartney,
Redmond Barry,	J. Jameson,
Richard Jebb,	P. Doyne,
Peter Burrowes,	R. Lyster,
John Lloyd,	Gerald O'Farrel,
William Vavasour,	W. P. Ruxton,
William Sankey,	M. J. O'Dwyer,
T. O'Driscoll,	Samuel Rudleton,
Eyre Burton Powell,	Joshua Spencer,
Beresford Burston,	John Hamilton.
Jonah Barrington,	

In pursuance of the above requisition, Mr. Smith called a Meeting, for Sunday, at 12 o'clock.

Which having taken place, and the Chancery Chamber not being large enough to hold the Meeting—And the Hall being considered inconvenient; it was adjourned to William-street, and held at the Exhibition-house

SUNDAY,

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SUNDAY, the 9th of DECEMBER.

AMBROSE SMITH Esq. Father of the Bar being called to the Chair—He addreſſed the Meeting. Gentlemen, purſuant to a requiſition delivered to me by ſeveral reſpectable Barriſters, I have convened this Meeting. I know not the object for which it has been ſummoned, and therefore I declare myſelf ready to hear any gentleman who is diſpoſed to deliver his ſentiments. I entreat that order may be perſerved.

MR. SAURIN opened the buſineſs. Sir, I am one of thoſe who ſigned the original requiſition, and though I have always been adverſe to calling a meeting of the Bar, to agitate political ſubjects, yet when a queſtion is ſent abroad by high authority, which goes directly to deſtroy and annul for ever, the conſtitution and legiſlative independence of the country, I think it is the duty of every great body of men, and particularly the duty of the Bar, as learned in the Law and Conſtitution, to ſtep forward and declare their ſenſe on the ſubject. In times of perfect tranquillity it is their duty to do this, but at ſuch a period as the preſent, when the public are rendered incapable by the circumſtances in which they ſtand, of conſidering ſo momentous a queſtion, it becomes the duty of the Bar to declare whether it is wiſe or ſafe at ſuch a criſis to diſcuſs it. It is therefore not my intention to enter very deeply into the queſtion, whether a Union in any circumſtances might or might not be uſeful. I ſhall leave all metaphyſical diſquiſitions on that ſubject in the hands of thoſe who profeſſed themſelves capable of ſeeing into the remote conſequences of ſuch a meaſure, advantages, which to my underſtanding are totally unintelligible. I ſhall content himſelf with offering a few obvious remarks on the queſtion,

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queſtion, remarks that muſt ſtrike the underſtanding and common ſenſe of every man; and I will leave the learned gentlemen, whom I addreſs, to agree in the reſolution which I will have the honour to propoſe. It was not until the month of October laſt, that the people of Ireland were told for the firſt time, that they were unworthy to govern themſelves, that they ought to ſurrender for ever the conſtitution under which, with all its imperfections, they and their anceſtors for 500 years had lived happily, and riſen, and were riſing to a degree of proſperity highly to be envied.—It was not till then that the people of Ireland were told, that the intereſts of their country, the morals, the diſpoſitions and habits of its people were more likely to be promoted and improved by the care of a Britiſh Legiſlature, than by a Parliament of their own, reſident among them. But was it not obvious to every man, that if, in caſe of a Legiſlative Union, Ireland ſhould be ſuffered to ſend an hundred members to the United Parliament, yet the Parliament thus conſtituted with five hundred Britiſh members and one hundred Iriſh, muſt be influenced by every tie of inclination, and I will add, of duty too, to prefer the intereſts of Great Britain to thoſe of Ireland, when they ſhould be found to claſh? Muſt it not be acknowledged that if the Legiſlatures of the two countries ſhould be united, their firſt care would be to diſtribute the burden of public debt and public expence equally or proportionably over every member of the empire, and muſt it not follow that the burdens of Ireland would thereby be encreaſed to the utmoſt limit of her capacity to bear? With reſpect to the morals and diſpoſitions of our people, could it be reaſonably believed that the Britiſh Miniſter would ſend over miſſionaries here to improve and reform them? Would it not be his firſt care to extract from us our proportion of taxes in defence of the empire, and

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would he not then leave our morals and manners to the slow improvement of time and circumstances? Yet it was for these advantages that the country was called on to give up for ever its independence and right to govern itself, and yield to the care of a foreign Legislature. But the Bar, and every gentleman who knows Ireland, must know that if ever there was a country which, more than another stood in need of the indulgent attention and watchful zeal of a resident Legislature—one which, from its knowledge of the people, their habits, and their local circumstances of the country, might adopt its regulations to the situation of the inhabitants, it was this country.—I will not, however, say that there can never occur a time when a Union with Great Britain on any terms would be injurious to Ireland. I will not enter into abstract disquisitions on the nature and benefits of the indivisibility and incorporation of the empire, but I will say, that at present I see no benefit which could accrue to Ireland from such a measure—possibly however, at a future day the light might flash on my mind; but the advantages which should at any time induce me to agree to a surrender of the constitution and independence of the country for ever, must be of great magnitude indeed, and clear as the sun at noon-day. With respect to the reasoning of those who now advise the measure, *who was the man bold enough to say, he was convinced that those great advantages must accrue which the metaphysician pretended future time would develope?* Who would be bold enough to pledge himself to his country that those advantages would repay her for her independence? At all events it was not at the termination of a rebellion, if it was indeed terminated, the most alarming and savage which had ever scourged a country, that a question of such magnitude was to be discussed;

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diſcuſſed—it was not when a foreign army of 40,000 men were in the country, and military law ſcarcely yet ſuſpended, that the people were to be aſked on the moment, whether they would give up their Conſtitution, and transfer their Legiſlative power to another country. I therefore propoſe that the learned gentlemen who have heard me, and whoſe voice the Adminiſtration and the People will probably look to with reſpect, ſhould come to the following reſolution:

"*Reſolved. That the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union of this kingdom and Great Britain, is an innovation, which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propoſe, at the preſent juncture, to this country.*"

Mr. SPENCER. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I riſe to ſecond the reſolution which has been juſt propoſed by my much reſpected friend, who has entered into the ſubject ſo fully and with ſuch ſingular ability, that I ſhall treſpaſs but for a very ſhort time upon the attention of this Aſſembly. The reſolution propoſed for our adoption, contains two propoſitions; the one declaring a Legiſlative Union between the two kingdoms, to be an innovation on the Conſtitution of this country; and the other, that the preſent ſituation of this country is moſt improper and dangerous for the propoſal of ſuch a meaſure. As to the firſt propoſition, namely, that an Union would be an innovation upon the Conſtitution; there ſurely cannot be a doubt, even for a moment. For what is the Conſtitution of this country, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland? By this Conſtitution, a majority of each houſe of Legiſlature decides upon all objects of Iriſh Legiſlation which come before them; but would that be the caſe in the event of an Union? Certainly not, in that caſe not only a majority

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a majority would not decide, but though all the Lords and Commons of Ireland of the United Parliament were unanimous on a queſtion, which concerned Ireland alone, of which the Iriſh part of the Parliament muſt be the beſt judges, they might be overcome by the whole, or even part of the Engliſh Repreſentation. Is this the Conſtitution of Ireland? And I am not ſuppoſing an extreme caſe, it is preciſely what happened in the Britiſh Parliament, not ſix years after the Scotch Union, when on the queſtion for impoſing the malt tax on Scotland; which was directly contrary to the articles of the Union: all the Scotch members of both houſes oppoſed the meaſure, but it was carried againſt them by the Engliſh part of the United Parliament. But I ſhall ſhew from an authority, than which none can be greater, I ſhall ſhew from the authority of Mr. Locke, perhaps the moſt profound and ſyſtematic thinker, that England, or any other country ever produced, that Parliament is utterly incompetent to ſuch a meaſure, without expreſs authority from the people. It is unneceſſary for me to inform this Aſſembly, that Mr. Locke wrote his Eſſay on Civil Government, for the purpoſe of vindicating the principles of our glorious Revolution; that it was eſteemed the moſt perfect treatiſe upon the ſubject, at a time when the great queſtion of Government and civil liberty had been diſcuſſed by all the ability and learning of England—With direct reference to the Revolution, and the Engliſh Conſtitution; and that from that time unto the preſent, it has been looked up to as an oracle upon the ſubject: His words are theſe, "*The Legiſlative is "not only the ſupreme power in the commonwealth, but "ſacred and unalterable in the hands, where the commu- "nity have once placed it; nor can any other edict of any

* Locke on Government.

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" body elſe, in what form ſoever conceived, or by what " power ſoever backed, have the force and obligation of " a law, which has not its ſanction from that Legiſlative " which the public has choſen and appointed." And again, " The Legiſlative cannot transfer the power of mak- " ing laws to any other hands: for it being but a dele- " gated power from the people, they who have it cannot " paſs it over to others. The power of the *Legiſlative*, " being derived from the people by a poſitive voluntary " grant and inſtitution, can be no other than what that " poſſitive grant conveyed; which being only to make " *laws*, and not to make *Legiſlators*, the *Legiſlative* can " have no power to transfer their authority of making " laws and place it in other hands." But it may be ſaid, that all this is juſt and true in theory, but irreconcileable with practical politics. On the contrary, the principle has been recently recognized, and acted upon, by that very America, to whoſe example we are referred, and whoſe political wiſdom we are cautioned not to reject; and that very letter which is quoted by the author of a late pamphlet, is from the immortal Waſhington, Preſident, not of the Congreſs, but of a Convention immediately elected from the people, which ſat at Philadelphia, in the ſummer of 1787, for the expreſs purpoſe of reviſing the American Conſtitution, to which the Congreſs conceived itſelf not impowered without direct authority from the people.

And now, Sir, as to the ſecond part of the reſolution, I am really curious to hear an argument, why the preſent ſituation of the country, when the agitations of a moſt deep laid, wide extended, and furious rebellion, have not yet ſubſided, ſhould be ſelected for the bringing forward a queſtion of that magnitude and vitality to the Conſtitution, which muſt agitate and convulſe this country to its very centre.

In

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In England, ever since the beginning of this extraordinary war, the bringing forward of any question of political innovation, even that of Parliamentary Reform, has been reprobated both in and out of Parliament, as improper and dangerous, whilst the revolutionary spirit was afloat throughout Europe, and mens minds had been unhinged and unsettled on political subjects; and if England, notwithstanding her general loyalty, notwithstanding her superior learning, and her sense of happiness derived from her excellent Constitution, cannot bear the discussion of such subjects; is it in unhappily disaffected and distempered Ireland, that their agitation will be perfectly harmless? What then can be the reason, why the English government, in this respect, should hold so different a language in Ireland from what they do in England? Why, it can be no other than this, which invincibly forces itself upon the understanding; that they would take an ungenerous and cruel advantage of the great army at present in this country, and of that suppression of the public voice, which the urgency of our situation had rendered necessary for a time; but I do conjure gentlemen to consider the awful and tremulous situation of this country: If, notwithstanding our immense military force; if, notwithstanding all the zeal and ardour of the Yeomanry, it required three weeks to subdue one thousand French, during which period, insurrections broke out in two different counties; what would be our situation, if some thousands of French should land in this country, (an event, against which nothing can insure us), while in the height of the fermentation occasioned by the discussion of this measure? Sir, I am sure that the gentry of this country, would, at all hazards and under all circumstances, resist to their utmost, and to

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the laſt, the daring invaders of this kingdom; but can we calculate what effect their known diſapprobation of the meaſure, and conſequent diſguſt, would have upon the ſubordinate claſſes of the community; could the government depend even upon the regular military force; could they be certain, that that ſoldiery, which, for their own purpoſes, they have at times encouraged to deliberate, would not deliberate for themſelves? Can they be confident, that the Engliſh militia itſelf, would eſcape the epidemic agitation of the country? I have, however, heard it aſſerted, that from the circumſtances I have juſt mentioned, viz. the great military force in this country, and the ſuppreſſion of the public voice, this is the preciſe ſeaſon for the introduction of this meaſure, which could not be carried under any other circumſtances. Good God, Sir, is it poſſible that ſuch a ſentiment ſhould circulate, without circulating revolutionary principles along with it? Can it be endured to be ſaid, that the ſeaſon for introducing the moſt momentous conſtitutional queſtion, to the conſideration of the Legiſlature of a free people, is, when there is an extraordinary military force in the country, and when, from the imperiouſneſs of circumſtances, the public lips have been cloſed? It is by the frank, open, and generous conduct, which ſhould ever characterize free governments, and not by the dark and intriguing policy of deſpotic Cabinets, that the Engliſh Miniſter will ſucceed in checking the ſpirit of revolution, and all railing againſt the conduct of France, muſt be vain and hypocritical, while you yourſelf, in your practice, adopt the maxims of France; and whilſt in pamphlets, written under the auſpices of government, the incorporating policy of France is recommended, as the model for England to

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follow in reſpect to this country. The Iriſh Bar has already had the honour and the ſatisfaction of ſaving this country, or contributing moſt eſſentially to its ſafety, by taking the lead in the Yeomanry inſtitution; and, I truſt, that they will now have the ſweet ſatisfaction of ſaving our country, by ſtanding between the raſh and ill-adviſed projects of the Engliſh miniſter, and miſchiefs that are incalculable.

Mr. St. George Daly moved that the further conſideration of this reſolution be adjourned to this day month.

Mr. Jameson ſeconded the motion of adjournment, and oppoſed the original reſolution, as tending to the prematurely forcing the diſcuſſion of the queſtion of an Union, between Great Britain and Ireland; a circumſtance of ſuch great magnitude and conſequence, that he thought the aſſembly were not at preſent prepared to decide on the merits of the queſtion, as having no evidence before them that a Union would be, in its effects, either beneficial or injurious to the country at large; he therefore, for himſelf, being the deſcendant of Engliſhmen, and he believed the great majority of thoſe who heard him were of the ſame deſcription, as well as ſome of the great proprietors and landed intereſts of this kingdom, did not heſitate to avow himſelf friendly to the principle of an Union between the two countries, on liberal terms, at the ſame time admitting, that much would depend on the arrangement of the buſineſs, and until ſuch arrangement was made known, he conſidered every interference premature and untimely.

Mr.

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Mr. P. BURROWES.—I oppoſe the previous queſtion. I ſupport my learned and reſpected friend—From deference to him, I abſtain at *preſent*, from ſubmitting a ſtronger propoſition to this Aſſembly. A Legiſlative Union with Great Britain upon *any terms*, which can be rationally conceived, is in its principle, at all times inadmiſſible; at the preſent juncture the meaſure is peculiarly pernicious. What is in truth and ſimplicity the Queſtion?—Whether the Iriſh nation ſhould at all deliberate upon the terms and conditions, upon which it ſhould ſurrender a Conſtitution founded upon the ſoundeſt principles of human policy, which it has enjoyed for ſix centuries, and under which with all its imperfections and abuſes, it arrived at a ſtate of great improvement, and was proceeding in a courſe of rapidly accelerating proſperity, until in common with other countries, the political malady, which has of late, afflicted the world, had viſited it with evils, *not aſcribable to its Conſtitution*.—I ſay this nation ought not to entertain ſuch a queſtion.—The diſcuſſion is certain degradation—The meaſure is certain ruin. We are told that the abſtract propoſition is harmleſs, and that every thing will depend upon the terms. I anſwer, that *every poſſible modification* of an Union neceſſarily involves evils, which cannot be compenſated in *any poſſible modification*.—Let us conſider the neceſſary actual ſacrifices and conſequences, and ſee whether there be even any ſpeculative equivalent. The total extinction of the Iriſh name and independent Iriſh Legiſlature is *a neceſſary preliminary*.—The merging of our Repreſentatives in an Aſſembly where they will be more than quadrupled, and where if they were unanimous, they could have but ſlight influence upon any ſubject, is a *neceſſary preliminary*. The perpetual exiſtence of the United Legiſlature in another country, to the influence of whoſe wiſhes and opinions they will

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be ſubject, is *a neceſſary preliminary*. The encreaſe to an enormous extent of the principal evil which, for centuries, afflicted this country, namely, our abſentees, *is a certain conſequence*.—The encreaſe of taxes is *a certain conſequence*.—The encreaſe of our national debt is *a certain conſequence*.—And that we muſt depend upon the good faith and feeling of a nation which experience tells us has, or may conceive, ſhe has a rival intereſt, for the preſervation of any part of the ſyſtem which may benefit us, is *a certain conſequence*. Who is not ſtartled at this deficient catalogue of preliminary ſacrifice? Can any price warrant the ſurrender of the Conſtitution and liberties of a nation? and what then is the price offered? We are told of great commercial acquiſitions, or embarraſſing commercial difficulties from which we may be relieved by this arrangement. I do not believe, even if I admitted our Conſtitution to be a ſaleable commodity, that England has any commercial price to offer. As to foreign trade, we enjoy it already, except as far as it is locked up in companies, from whoſe monopoly an Union could not reſcue it. As to the channel trade, we labour under ſome diſadvantages, from which Government has promiſed to relieve us, which Parliament can eaſily ſettle and adjuſt, which are of but ſlight comparative conſequence, and which never can be a juſtifiable apology, for ſurrendering the ſource and ſecurity of all commerce, and of every thing elſe that is valuable—a national independent Legiſture. Upon this head I will not dwell; it is too extenſive in its detail, and too ſlight in its comparative import to be diſcuſſed here.

I haſten to that which is the grand pretence for this alarming innovation. The ſecurity of the connection with Great Britain it is ſaid requires it.—This is indeed a powerful

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powerful appeal—Connected as we are by ſo many ties to that great and powerful people, there are but few things which we ought not to ſacrifice to the preſervation of that connection. But let not our zeal miſlead us—Let us coolly inveſtigate the probable effect of this meaſure in that reſpect. I aſſert, I hope without contradiction, that the ſecurity of that connection muſt depend *upon affection, and not force.—Diſaffection* is the only ſource of ſeparation, and ſee whether, upon the whole, this meaſure be not more likely to extend than to reſtrain it. Conſider it in relation to the governing and governed bodies of this country.

Does any man ſeriouſly think our Parliament likely to endanger the connection by any thing hoſtile, or factious? Is it poſſible to add to their zeal for the intereſt of the empire? Perhaps that intereſt would be more ſoundly promoted, if they diſplayed more local attachment. At all events, the transfer of one hundred, probably of the ſame, men into the Britiſh Parliament will not tend to abate the motives to diſaffection amongſt the governed here, which is the prime conſideration, and to which I haſten. I cannot, however quit this head, without expreſſing my aſtoniſhment and indignation, that the very men who but yeſterday aſſerted that our Repreſentatives were pure and perfect; and who ſeemed to think that the higheſt character in the land, who ſhould aſperſe them, ſhould be treated as a rebel, and an outcaſt; that theſe very men ſhould themſelves now load them with the moſt unmeaſured calumnies—ſhould repreſent them as mean, mercenary, profligate and incorrigible.

I ſhall now conſider this ſubject, in reſpect of the governed body of Ireland, and the influence of this meaſure upon them.

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them. The very lower orders of the people, I conſider as mere machines upon ſuch occaſions—There is, however, a middle order, in which the political energy, and actuating power of every free nation, reſides; and which by accident in this country, is ſo ſubdivided, as much to facilitate the preſent enquiry, the Yeomanry—the United Iriſhmen, and the Reformiſts, form I think an adequate diviſion of the political body of this country—at all events, ſufficiently accurate and adequate for fair practical inference. They comprehend all religions, and extend to all claſſes neceſſary to be conſidered.

Of the Yeomanry, who unqueſtionably preſerved the connection and the conſtitution, *which they had ſworn to defend*, I need not ſay much; I need not tell you, that loyalty to their Sovereign, and attachment to the conſtitution, ſo predominated in their minds, that all other ſentiments and conſiderations ſeemed to be totally diſcarded. Their loyalty could not admit of augmentation; but it may be forced to ſubſide, and I cannot conceive any thing ſo likely to affect them, as to loſe their Conſtitution at the very moment they have reſcued it from invaders, and placed it, as they conceived, out of the reach of danger. I confeſs, I have ſeen without wonder, a very conſiderable, and a very lamentable change, within a very ſhort time. Since this fatal queſtion has come forth, the moſt loyal men I know, enquire into the affairs of the empire, with feelings, perhaps, inſenſibly altered; they do not hear of a Britiſh victory with that ebullient joy, which indicated, even at a diſtance, the approach of glad tidings. Are men aware of the conſequences of ſetting ſpeculation looſe upon the probable ſtate of Ireland, in new and untried relations? I hope the Miniſter, who is ſuch an enemy

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to innovation, has well weighed these consequences. I come now to the United Irishmen—Surely no man thinks a closer connection with Great Britain will conciliate them. But, I beg pardon—I am in error—the United Irishmen, I am told, hold a jubilee of joy at this measure—they are its warmest advocates. They well know that their numbers will be increased, and their views promoted by it—they well know, that France will not require an embassador to communicate the strength of her friends in this country, while such a measure is discussing, or after it shall be carried—that France experimentally knows *how such connections are formed, to what purposes they are subservient, and by what means alone they can be preserved.* I come now to the Reformists—They object, and I think truly object, that the influence of the Minister is too great, and the influence of the Nation too little in the Representative body of the Nation—they will not, I think, consider matters to be much mended, when the former becomes every thing, and the latter nothing—at present they prefer, at least, the majority of them, prefer the present Constitution, even unreformed, to a revolution. If that Constitution be once *displaced*, 'tis difficult to know what Constitution they may wish to establish in its room; but it is tolerably certain, that they being Irishmen, they will wish for an Irish Constitution. It should be recollected, that I am now speaking of Reformists, as contra-distinguished to United Irishmen. Upon the whole of this head, I think, the attachment of the governing body to the connection cannot be increased, and that the attachment of every considerable portion of the governed, will be diminished by this measure, and that consequently it leads directly to disaffection and separation. Of the powerful effect which this terrific innovation will probably have upon the

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the liberties of the Britiſh nation, and the balance of the Britiſh Conſtitution, I ſhall not here ſpeak; this conſideration will, I truſt, be maturely weighed by the people of another country.

But even though it were poſſible to deviſe a ſyſtem of Union, which ought to be adopted, this is a juncture the moſt unfit for propounding or diſcuſſing it. I am no metaphyſician in politics—I do not derive my opinions from mere abſtract reaſoning. Yet I hold it to be indiſputably certain, *that the antient eſtabliſhed Conſtitution of a nation, like this, cannot be juſtifiably annihilated, without the previous conſent of the nation, founded upon the freeſt and fulleſt diſcuſſion of the ſubject.*

That this meaſure will not be carried by fraud, or by force, I am fully convinced. The illuſtrious nobleman, who preſides here, and whom I am diſpoſed to contemplate as a miſſionary from Heaven, ſent to ſtop the effuſion of human blood, and the progreſs of human crimes, is my ſecurity. Whatever may be the views, or the wiſhes of a Britiſh Miniſter, he will not hazard his well-earned, and widely extended fame, by any act which will not bear the judgment of future ages.

If then, previous or even concomitant diſcuſſion be neceſſary, can it be now ſafely obtained?—Can it ever be credited than an Union carried now, was founded upon national conſent? And if the contrary opinion ſhould prevail, how fatal would the conſequence probably be? How various are the impediments to popular diſcuſſion at preſent? Do we forget that aſſemblies of the people, are under temporary reſtraints, at leaſt, regulations not heretofore deemed neceſſary in our Conſtitution; that the

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the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended; that extraordinary powers are vested in magistrates; that that undefinable monster Martial Law still exists in parts of Ireland; that Rebellion is but just subdued, and Invasion still hovering around our coasts; and above all, that a numerous English army exists in this country. To that army, I acknowledge myself, amongst the rest of my countrymen, to be deeply indebted, I attribute no bad designs to it. But I assert, that there cannot be a *free discussion* of the question under such circumstances, and I add that if there could, *it ought not to be now provoked.* I say therefore, that this is not only an improper time, but the most improper time that could be devised for setting afloat so dangerous and inflammatory a topic; and I am astonished that any man could be so rash and daring to cast such a firebrand into a country so combustible. In opposing the introduction of this measure, I feel that I am contending for peace and tranquillity, as well as freedom. I confess, I feel a sentiment of national pride, and perhaps, national prejudice in favour of the liberties of Ireland, of which I am not ashamed. Perhaps these emotions may somewhat influence my judgment; if they do, I am unconscious of it, because I feel a rational conviction upon the subject. I should not, however, much regret it, if it were the case; because I am persuaded that even a prejudice in favour of the Constitution of one's country is one of the best cements of human society. Condemning as I do the principle of an Union, I give the previous question my decided opposition.

Mr. BARNES.—Father Smith, to use the words of a great man, (Mr. GRATTAN,) the gentleman who spoke last but one, "is an Englishman, contending for the power of his country, while I am defending the liberty of

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mine." He then ſpoke with conſiderable ability againſt a Union with Great Britain on any terms. Indeed what availed terms, however liberal, when if thoſe were acceded to by Ireland, there remained no means of enforcing the performance of them? To ſhew that terms propoſed by Great Britain as the price of an Union, could not be depended on, he adverted to what followed in the Britiſh Parliament a very few years after the Union with Scotland—a tax on malt in Scotland was propoſed by the Miniſter of the day, and though it was oppoſed by every Scotch Repreſentative and Scotch Peer in either Houſe, it was carried in direct breach of one of the articles of the Union. Nor was this the only inſtance of violated faith—another occurred a few years back reſpecting the rights of the Scotch Peers ſitting in the Britiſh Houſe of Lords—where a caſe was decided by the Britiſh Parliament in manifeſt contravention of one of the leading articles of the Union. This caſe is the more worthy the attention of Iriſhmen generally, on account of the particular circumſtances attending it, and which you will allow me to detail a little at large. At the time of the Union, the Scotiſh Peers propoſed, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted to guard them againſt the injury which they had ſuſtained by the laſt determination of the Houſe of Lords; they were entreated not to preſs it, and to ſuffer it to be determined by the Houſe of Lords, whenever the queſtion ſhould ariſe; they ſubmitted, but by the propoſal, they manifeſted their fears, and proclaimed their wiſhes. The Lords did not diſappoint them, and in the year 1708-9, their Lordſhips reſolved, as the Scotch Peers wiſhed, that a Scottiſh Peer becoming a Peer of Great Britain, ceaſed to have any intereſt in the Scottiſh Peerage. In 1787, they determined the ſame point, and thereby turned the oppoſers of Mr. Pitt out of the repreſentation.

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ſentation. In 1793, a contrary determination anſwered the ſame purpoſe, and overturned the law, as ſettled immediately after the Union. Such is the confidence Ireland ſhould place in any terms propoſed by Great Britain; he conſidered it as an inſolent diſplay of her ſuperiority, that Great Britain ſhould propoſe a Union at ſuch a time as this; it was a meaſure dictated by her confidence in that proud ſuperiority with which her fleets ruled the ocean —but ſhe ſhould remember that that ſuperiority would be of ſhort duration, were it not for the force which Ireland afforded to man thoſe fleets—to his own knowledge, and he had been himſelf a ſeaman, half the ſtrength of the navy of England, including the marine corps, was drawn from Ireland; and yet Engliſh Captains have had the inſolence to ſay, that in their ſhips, they would have no more Iriſhmen than main-maſts! Such was the contumely with which Ireland and Iriſhmen had always been treated by England—but he contended that Great Britain had nothing to give Ireland, which could be conſidered as a compenſation for the ſurrender of its independence.—To all the world except the Eaſt Indies we already had a right to trade—and a Union would not give us more of the Eaſt-India trade than we already poſſeſſed—for we could in that caſe, as well as now, only be permitted to ſhare in it by individual merchants becoming the proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock; and as to morals and melioration of manners, he ridiculed the idea of thoſe reſulting from new importations of vice from Portſmouth and Plymouth, or from Duke-ſtreet, St. James's. While we had a Kirwan in the Pulpit, and a Saurin at the Bar, we wanted no empyrics in Law or Divinity.

One word he would ſay, on the pamphlet, entitled "Arguments for and againſt an Union." There was a

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time, in the hiſtory of this country, and that within his knowledge, when an Attorney General would not have thought he diſcharged his duty to the country, unleſs he had indicted the author of it for high treaſon; unleſs the patriotiſm of the Houſe of Commons had preferred an impeachment, as a mode of puniſhment more ſuited to the variegated crimes with which it abounds. With reſpect to the *right* of Parliament to agree to an Union, he declared it to be his opinion they could have no ſuch right.

He read the following reſolution, agreed to unanimouſly by the Bar of Ireland, in 1782.

"*At a full Meeting of the Lawyers' Corps, the 28th of February, 1782, purſuant to notice.*

Colonel Edward Weſtby in the Chair.

The following reſolution was unanimouſly agreed to.

"*Reſolved, That the Members of the Houſe of Commons are the repreſentatives of, and derive their power ſolely from the people, and that a denial of this propoſition by them, would be, to abdicate the repreſentation.*"

And then ſaid, Father Smith, let this learned meeting remember the diſtinguiſhed characters that ornamented the Iriſh Bar of that day; let them remember, that the late Chief Baron Huſſey Burgh, and the preſent Chief Baron Lord Yelverton, were among the foremoſt leaders of the patriotic band; that the majority, if not all the preſent Judges of Ireland, were members of that corps, and that therefore the People of this country, had the character and authority of the preſent Bench of Ireland, for the truth of the propoſition, contained in the reſolution

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lution he had had the honour to read. He would likewiſe ſay, that the Grand Juries throughout the kingdom, and the two Houſes of Parliament, had declared that no power on earth, had a right to *make* laws to *bind* Ireland, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and to no other power would he yield obedience: It was his right as an Iriſhman to be governed by thoſe only, and bred as he was to the uſe of arms, he would not tamely ſurrender that right to the cunning or the inſolence of that ſerpent and political apoſtate, Mr. Pitt.

Mr. T. GRADY.—I am happy to perceive, Sir, that my learned friend, who originated this diſcuſſion, has, upon conſideration, thought proper to withdraw *this plea in bar*, he heretofore put in to the *bill* for an Union, and that he now contents himſelf with the *dilatory* meaſure of a *ſpecial demurrer*; and my friend who leads the oppoſition, ſeems not to differ much with him in principle, inaſmuch as his object is to transfer the argument to the *adjourned liſt*, in hopes that the parties may compromiſe, before the queſtion can obtain a final deciſion.

I feel, Sir, that the part I ſhall take upon this occaſion, may be attributed to thoſe motives that in general are ſuppoſed to influence men who have any dependence upon Government; but thoſe who *know me*, know how lightly I eſtimate *my* dependence; and thoſe who do not know me may, before I ſit down, be induced to think that my conduct is only influenced by the ſettled conviction of an independent mind.

Sir, I not only approve of, but I ſolicit an Union; I mean an Union upon equitable terms. The learned member

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member has talked of transmitting our valuable Constitution to posterity; and if I had any reason to think that the country considered that Constitution a security, that they looked upon it with respect, or even with patience, I would become a party to the deed by which it was to be indefeasibly transmitted to future generations. But I acknowledge to the world, that I am weary of a system which, except its expence, has been of late nothing but a source of perpetual conflict, and civil hostilities. What moderate man is not disgusted at having seen the convulsions by which this unhappy country has been so long shaken, and which have been induced by that system! The peasantry arrayed against the gentry, the gentry against the peasantry, and the physical force of the nation, drawn up in line of battle against its constituted authorities; demands, on the one hand, alledged to be unreasonable and turbulent; rejections, on the other, alledged to be unconstitutional and oppressive; the People, on the one side, charged with being a mass of bigotry and republicanism; the Parliament, on the other, reviled as not being the Parliament of the People, nor the Parliament of the Sovereign, but the Parliament of an arrogant aristocracy, who, while they held the Sovereign in shackles, trampled upon his People.

We have seen the natural effects of such a system. Demands leading to rejection, rejection to recrimination, recrimination to chastisement, chastisement to rebellion, and rebellion to extermination. Is this the system that I am called upon to transmit as a blessing to posterity? Shall I visit posterity with a system, in whose train are carried war, pestilence, and famine? No; GIVE ME AN UNION. Unite me to that country, where

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where all is peace, order, and prosperity; and give me, in that Union, the unfettered councils of a nation, where no prejudice arrogates to dominate, no local interests to controul, and whose councils have, at this important crisis in the history of the world, raised her head above all the nations of the Universe! Such an Union, we understand, is now offered by the Minister of our Sovereign. The People, defeated in their hopes of Reform, colleague for this purpose with the Sovereign, and you are going to colleague with the aristocracy, both against Sovereign and People; but you have not even the strength of an integral estate for your colleagues. A great proportion, consisting of the wisest personages, nay the heads of that respectable body, are said to favour the views of the Sovereign; you, therefore, have for your colleagues only the rump of the aristocracy. But what advantage do you propose to yourselves as a body, or what credit with the country, from an interference, where your motives, to say the best, must be doubtful, and where your interposition (to say the least) must be ineffectual? The People could see no middle term between Parliamentary Reform and Parliamentary annihilation. When they asked for Reform, you refused your assistance; and now, when they ask for annihilation, you interpose to prevent the extinction of that system which you then refused to redress. You then protected yourselves by the argument, that it was no time to disturb the public mind, by agitating the question; and now, when even upon your own admission, the embers of one rebellion are not yet cold, and while there is another supposed to be kindling in the country, you proceed without remorse, to the discussion. But the People will not think you inconsistent.

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Parliamentary Reform, they ſay, would be to you Parliamentary annihilation; and excluſion would be the conſequence of either extreme. But of what *general* advantage can the continuance of this ſyſtem be to the profeſſion? Though it be not the caſe in the inſtance of any living Barriſter, yet we all know enough of the hiſtory of the profeſſion, to believe that the Bar patronage, the due reward of genius and of learning, has too often been laviſhed upon Parliamentary ſycophants, at the expence of talents and perſeverance.

Many of my brethren who are now around me, and who perhaps will vote againſt me on this queſtion, have frequently lamented to me, in an exaggerated picture which I could never ſubſcribe to, that during the exiſtence of former Parliaments, they thought the profeſſion degraded in the perſons of ſome men, who ſtood forward upon the floor, with a piſtol in one hand and a bludgeon in the other, cuffing down all the talents of the land; making their way to honours and emoluments, by impudence and ſervility. I therefore call upon all my brethren, who feel within themſelves the impulſe of genius, and the energy of learning, to vote for the extinction of a ſyſtem that ſacrificed the fair trader to the ſmuggler.

Believe me, Sir, if the people feel that your motives are merely ſelfiſh, they will not be touched with any ſenſe of your ſufferings in loſing the channel of Parliamentary preferment, nor will they make any common cauſe with you on the occaſion. But what effect will your opinion have with Government? If it has any effect, it will be by leaning againſt the impreſſion to give it a bias

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bias the contrary way. If you have a right to dictate in this inſtance, you will have a right to dictate in every other, and then it will come to this, that as often as any State meaſure is in agitation, the Miniſter muſt ſend his compliments to Father Smith to beg he would convene the Bar in order to take, what the learned mover has very ſophiſtically called their *legal* opinion. And then the leading council of the State will be a body of Barriſters erected into a ſynod, of Attorney's-General in perſpective, embryo Chief Judges, and animalcule Serjeants. But ſuffer me to aſk that learned member what is to become of his *legal* opinion, if the *phyſical* opinion of the State be againſt him? All the cities of the South and Weſt are from commercial motives ſtrongly ſolicitous of an union. Situated as thoſe cities are upon the great Atlantick, on the weſtern extremity of the empire, between almoſt all the reſt of the world and Great Britain, they know that they muſt become the ſtore-houſes of the empire; and the relative effect of this upon the landed intereſt in thoſe parts makes *that* intereſt equally ſolicitous. But the great body of the people are the Catholics, and they deſire it. (Here there was a violent outcry of no, no.)

I deſire to be underſtood, as only ſpeaking from my authority of the Catholics of the South with ſome of the moſt reſpectable of whom I have the cloſeſt connections, and I can ſay, that *they* conſider an Union, independent of its general advantage to the State, as the only meaſure by which, to bury in eternal oblivion, the dreadful conflict that has been ſo unfortunately revived at the end of a century between Proteſtant and Catholic, or as the parties are now invidiouſly diſtinguiſhed, between Orangery and Popery. But abſtracted from this autho-

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rity, I think I have a right to argue what will be the probable opinion of the Catholics of Ireland when they come to decide upon the queſtion. There are but two fair ways of anticipating the opinions and the actions of men, namely, from their intereſts or from their paſſions; but when their paſſions and their intereſts go hand in hand, the grounds of anticipation are irreſiſtible.

As to the intereſt of the Catholics, the trade of the being principally in their hands, and the effect of this meaſure upon the trade being unqueſtionable, they will certainly be urged by the impulſe of intereſt. But ſuppoſe ſome of the upper claſſes were to be deluded into an unnatural league with their inherent enemies, what would that weigh with the body againſt the intereſt of the peaſantry, who form the ſtrength of the country, and to whom this meaſure comes recommended by the great bounty of a tythe modification. Will *they* heſitate upon the ſubject? I believe, at leaſt I may venture to anſwer for *them*. And indeed, I believe they would take upon truſt any meaſure that came recommended from the nobleman, who now preſides in this country, and who has already covered them with the ſhield of his protection. But in ſuch a body there muſt be many who will reaſon from their paſſions. And in ſuch a criſis, as the preſent, the *man* frequently predominates over the *metaphyſician*. *They* will ſay, "For a century we lay like a morbed "maſs upon the ſurface of the ſoil, without the capa- "city of enriching the country we encumbered. Whe- "ther by our friends or whether by our enemies, we were "then brought into political exerciſe, and in the con- "flict acquired conſiderable advantages. Their, how- "ever, we were not ſuffered to reſt, but in the effort "to toſs us ſtill forward we have barely eſcaped being

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" remitted to the non-entity of our anceſtors. We have " as yet eſcaped, but we have been denounced.—And if " the preſent ſyſtem holds, we muſt expect the reſult " of that denunciation. High and low, north and ſouth, " from the channel to the ocean we have been branded " as rebels. The Rebellion was called the cruſade of " Popery, and that at a time when if we wanted to in- " ſtall the Pope we ſhould not have known where to find " him."

Theſe are arguments which the Catholic will not be offended with me for ſuppoſing in his behalf, for they are arguments which, if I were a Catholic myſelf, I ſhould be very apt to uſe, and that too whether intereſt or religion was predominant.

In ſhort, Sir, it comes to this—Whether will they coaleſce with their friends or with their enemies. In their Sovereign they will recognize their ſteady their perſevering friend. Their enemies are diſtinguiſhed *by their badges*. You ſee then, Sir, there is a great body of the people not likely to ſympathiſe with us. And inaſmuch therefore as the propoſed reſolution would probably be ineffectual, I ſhall vote for the adjournment.

Before I ſit down, I muſt ſay that I am not capable of even hinting diſreſpect towards my learned and much valued friend who originated this queſtion. I know, and the public knows, that he is as much above the principle as the neceſſity of a ſelfiſh motive. I know, and the public knows, that he was offered one of the firſt law offices of the State, an offer as honourable to Government as to him. Without Parliamentary ſervice, or Parliamentary connection, they caſt their eyes upon the

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Bar, and in ſelecting him, they only engrafted their own opinion upon the opinion of the profeſſion and of the publick. Sir, I ſhall trouble you no further.

Mr. JOHN BERESFORD, Jun. I riſe to obſerve, that I do not ſee how the object of the Meeting can be promoted, by coarſe and violent invective upon the Miniſter and people of England. I think, the introducing upon the tapis the characters of great men, (who are not preſent to defend themſelves), for the purpoſe of reflecting upon, and of reviling them, is as irrelevant to the ſubject under conſideration, as it is uncandid. To offer inſult, where reſentment is precluded, I do not think characteriſtic of generoſity or of decorum. It was not my intention to have obtruded my ſentiments upon this aſſembly; but as they ſeem inclined to indulge me with a hearing, I will ſtate my reaſons for diſſenting from the reſolution, and voting for the adjournment. The learned mover ſeems to admit, that conviction may ſtill flaſh upon his mind the propriety of an Union. I am not ſurprized at this—for I am not aware how any deciſive opinion can yet be formed upon the queſtion, in its preſent ſtate of embryo and imperfection. I do not ſee how rational conviction can be obtained, until the arguments of all parties ſhall be adduced. I deprecate the diſcuſſion of it, therefore, as premature and improper, until it ſhall be ſubmitted to the public, by that authority which alone is competent to ſpecify the objects, and develope the plan of ſo complicated a meaſure; and I ſtill more deprecate, gentlemen pledging themſelves by reſolutions to any opinion upon a ſubject which is, as yet, unpropoſed, undetailed, and conſequently but imperfectly underſtood. It is the peculiar feature, and characteriſtic of the members of the profeſſion

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profeſſion to which I have the honor to belong, to arrive at the attainment of truth, by minute and patient inveſtigation; I ſhould be ſorry, indeed, they were in this inſtance, to deviate from that line of conduct, ſo juſt, ſo honourable, and ſo liberal. I ſhould be ſorry they were to affect to decide upon any queſtion, much leſs, upon one of ſuch vaſt importance, without documents or materials, upon which a fair or rational concluſion can be grounded; ſuch a proceeding would be as diſgraceful as it would be novel. But, I hope, I truſt, I anxiouſly expect, that the good ſenſe and good conduct of the Bar, on this day, will not ſuffer ſuch an imputation to attach upon their profeſſion. There is an argument which weighs with me, and makes me peculiarly anxious that the Bar ſhould not commit themſelves, by any ſudden or precipitate determination, relative to a Legiſlative Union between this country and Great Britain, which, as yet, has not been propounded, and the terms of which have certainly not been explained; (and I appeal to the feelings of every man preſent, whether there is any colour for delicacy upon the occaſion), that it is generally thought, that if a conſolidation of the Legiſlatures of the two countries, was ever ſo advantageous to the empire in general, or to Ireland in particular, ſtill the members of the aſſembly, which I have the honor to addreſs, muſt ſuffer, in point of profeſſional intereſt and political conſequence, inaſmuch as one of the channels to conſideration, to honor, and to preferment, will, in this country, be for ever cloſed, upon this queſtion; I did not mean to give my opinion, much leſs to decide; but I confeſs I fear their taking the lead in diſcountenancing even the entertaining or deliberating upon the meaſure; their pronouncing a ſweeping condemnation upon the illegality of a Legiſlative

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a Legiſlative incorporation, and rejecting the preſent moment as improper for temperate diſcuſſion, might ſanction the ſuſpicion, and give colour to the charge of their being influenced by narrow and ſelfiſh views, inſtead of ſtanding upon the broad and generous baſis of public utility, and national advantage. I entreat you will not haſtily commit yourſelves, I entreat you not to act, as if you wiſhed to carry by clamour and by tumult, that which it is the province of cool and deliberate reaſon to decide upon. I aſſert, that this reſolution, if carried, will look like an attempt to overawe the parliament, and to deter the Legiſlatures of the two countries, not from finally determining upon, but even from deliberating upon a queſtion of national importance. Depend upon it, too, the attempt, if ſuch a one could be in contemplation, would be futile and unavailing; and I hope it would be ſo, for if it were not, the Parliament would be feeble, puſillanimous, and inadequate to the end of its inſtitution. I again entreat you to wait until you have ſome materials to ground your reaſoning and reſolutions upon; I do not make this requeſt as an advocate for or againſt the meaſure of an Union. Upon that great and momentous queſtion, I have not yet formed an opinion, becauſe it is yet in darkneſs. The objections which gentlemen have made, if well founded, will loſe none of their force, by their patiently waiting a detail of the plan in contemplation; t heir mouths will not be cloſed by ſuch temperate and dignified demeanour. They will ſtill retain the privilege of expreſſing their ſentiments, and that with tenfold weight and authority. It is unlike the miniſter, to bring a meaſure by ſurpriſe upon the people, therefore, I am ſure ſufficient time will be given to diſcuſs and balance the expediency or inexpediency of ſuch a connection. It is unlike the Engliſh

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liſh people to whom we are under ſuch obligations for the prompt, generous, and effectual aſſiſtance they ſo nobly afforded us, to force a Union, if unpallatable upon us; and it is impoſſible that a queſtion of ſo great magnitude, comprehending ſuch a variety of intereſts and of ſuch infinite bearings ſhould be ſo hurried or huſtled through the Legiſlatures of Great Britain and Ireland, as to preclude the public ſentiment from being clearly aſcertained, and expreſſed theron. Beware of being deluded by declamation, and miſled by a ſemblance of zeal and patriotic ardour, ſometimes aſſumed to acquire popularity, or to cover worſe intentions. He is not moſt his country's friend, who talks the moſt of the liberties of the people. If, upon fair, diſpaſſionate, and ſober diſcuſſion, a Union ſhould appear pregnant with miſchief, and national diſadvantage, reject it. Your voice, as that of a reſpectable portion of the community, muſt always be attended to, and if that of the nation, will be obeyed. It will then be the voice of reaſon, of patriotiſm, and of juſt conviction; and not that of tumult, of faction, of intemperance, or of ſelf-intereſt.

Mr. LLOYD vindicated the Catholics from the charge of their deſiring an Union with Great Britain. He contended that the Catholics were not friendly to an Union, and aſſerted he had as ample means of knowing their ſentiments as the learned gentleman (Mr. GRADY). It was a ſlander on the great body of the Catholics, to deſcribe them as actuated by ſo baſe and malignant a principle, as that of wiſhing to pull down the Proteſtants, becauſe they could not riſe to their level. But if the Catholics were actuated by ſo impolitic a motive, I am confident the Proteſtant men would be able to maintain their rights in ſpite of their oppoſition. I am convinced, however, the Catholics could not entertain any ſuch ſentiments

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ment—They had already obtained in the courſe of a few years a variety of important privileges, and there could be no reaſonable doubt, but they muſt in a very few years more, obtain the only remaining object which they had to ſeek—They could not therefore be ſo abſurd as to give up tamely and willingly the advantages they had obtained, and the certain proſpect of attaining thoſe which they fairly purſued. He reaſoned at length, and with great energy, on the impolicy of urging a Union at a time when the paſſions of the public were in ſo irritable a ſtate, and on the injuſtice of propoſing it at a period when a great military force, and martial law, prevented the people from delivering their ſentiments on a queſtion of ſuch great national importance.

Mr. DRISCOLL.—Sir, it is very idle in gentlemen to preface their ſpeeches with eulogiums on the independence of their minds, and the purity of their motives, becauſe the nature of the mind and of the motive is beſt underſtood by the conduct and ſentiments of the man: if the motive be pure, it will here receive full credit; if not, no ſplendid preface can ſhield it from detection in the enlightened aſſembly, in which I have the honour to be heard. I feel the preſent a very awful moment, and I am ſtrongly of opinion that upon your deciſion this day will, in a great meaſure, depend the ſafety of my country, or the ſeparation of it from England, which is equivalent to its deſtruction. I riſe to ſupport the original motion from a ſincere deſire to exſtinguiſh the hopes of conſpirators and traitors who have brought their country to the brink of ruin—Hopes, which are revived at the chearing proſpect of the convulſion which is likely to agitate the public mind, if the great queſtion of a Union ſhall be introduced in the preſent ſtate of the nation. The power of the rebels is cruſhed, but their principles are not ſubdued.

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dued. I am bound by my duty as a ſubject, and by a ſolemn oath which I have taken, faithfully to maintain and ſupport the laws and Conſtitution of this kingdom; and I will vote moſt zealouſly againſt the introduction of a queſtion, the diſcuſſion of which in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the country would, in my mind, bring the laws and that Conſtitution into imminent danger, by encouraging Rebellion to rear its head again with encreaſed and ferocious confidence. As to the political advantages or diſadvantages likely to accrue to this kingdom from a Union of our Legiſlature with that of England, I am incompetent to decide: The diſcuſſion of it is premature, and wide of the queſtion now before you, which conſiſts of two propoſitions; firſt, that a Union would be an innovation, and ſecondly, that it would be highly imprudent and improper to propoſe it at the preſent juncture (Here a loud cry of no, no, by thoſe who oppoſed the motion, who ſaid that the queſtion then before the meeting was that of *adjournment.*) I am aſhamed, Sir, to hear in this aſſembly ſuch vociferation, and upon a ground ſo unworthy of notice. I have truly ſtated the original queſtion, the adjournment of which I oppoſe. I did not conceive that any gentleman would be ſilly enough to inſult the feelings of this meeting, by an attempt to trammel their ſentiments upon ſo awful an occaſion, through the means of miſerable etiquettes and dexterities, the feeble inſtruments of faction, which ſhould be left where they were found, of which I hope I ſhall hear no more this night, and which if I do, I ſhall treat with the indifference they merit. I have ſtated the two propoſitions contained in the queſtion. No gentleman has yet denied the firſt; and one feeble attempt only has been made in oppoſition to the ſecond: An attempt has indeed, been

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made as it were to abſorb the firſt propoſition, by a bold poſition of blameable extent, and moſt unneceſſary introduction. It has been aſſerted, "that the Parliament of "Ireland has by the Conſtitution a power to form ſuch "a Union independent of, and uncontrouled by, the "ſenſe of the people of this kingdom." I ſhall deny that doctrine to the laſt moment of my life. The common principle of reaſon and juſtice deny the power contended for; the three great branches of our Conſtitution are, are the eſtates of the people of Ireland—The exiſting members of all of them, are the truſtees and agents of the nation. Upon the diſſolution of the Parliament, the great reverſionary right of the people comes into poſſeſſion, and they excerciſe their right, as well by their Sovereign, as by themſelves, in creating a new truſt; but they do not abſolutely transfer the ſoil. They delegate the ſtupendous power of making laws to affect their lives, liberty, and property. But when the term of the truſt, as eſtabliſhed by law, expires; the people have a right to demand, imperiouſly to demand, a reſtoration of their eſtate and the actual exerciſe of the actual exerciſe of their power to commit it to the hands of new truſtees, either to increaſe its improvement, or to infuſe new ſtrength into any parts of it which might have been impoveriſhed by the outgoing occupiers. Upon this principle I am ſupported by high authorities, unneceſſary to be cited to this learned aſſembly. If a Union ſhall be effected with England in purſuance of the conſent of the majority of the thinking part of the nation fairly taken when the nation can think, I ſhall hold it to be my bounden duty to ſubmit, and to act under it. But if the ſeparate right of Legiſlation for Ireland, ſhall be annihilated or transfered, or incorporated with that of any other country without

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ſuch conſent of the nation, I cannot conceive myſelf juſtly bound by any ſuch tranſaction.

Gentlemen have complained of the animation which has appeared this night, in diſcuſſing the queſtion before you. They have deprecated raſhneſs of deciſion, and entreated you to allow a month for *ſober* diſcuſſion, as the only means of enabling you to form a correct judgment. I meet thoſe gentlemen upon their own ground; and if they are alarmed at what they call intemperance in the minds of the gentlemen around me, enlightened by education, and chaſtened by habit and deep reflection, and *that* upon a queſtion which only expreſſes our terror at the approach of the grand meaſure of a Union, what frightful tumult muſt they not expect in the great maſs of the public mind, when the mighty propoſal itſelf comes forward, and provokes the agitation at ſuch a period as the preſent! It is in vain, Sir, to diſſemble: Thoſe gentlemen muſt know that in the preſent convulſed ſtate of this country, there is no claſs of men who are in a ſtate of mind to give the ſober conſideration they are ſo fond of, to the meaſure of a Union. Will they ſeek ſobriety of diſcuſſion, among the agonies of diſappointed treaſon? Will they look for it, in the exaſperated reſentment of loyaliſts, whoſe kindred are murdered, and whoſe property has been plundered? Will they reſort to the huſband of an abuſed wife, or the father of a violated daughter, for ſobriety of reaſoning? Is it from the ſanguinary conflicts of religious bigotry, almoſt unequalled in the annals of hiſtory, that they ſee ſobriety of thought likely to iſſue? Are the minds of affrighted townſmen, and of panic-ſtruck country gentlemen, fitted for the ſober diſcuſſion of a

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queſtion, involving the irrevocable doom of their country? No, Sir; the promoters of this meaſure, going at leaſt to a radical change of our mode of Legiſlation, and to the abſolute removal of our ſeperate Parliament, know in their hearts that the ſenſe of the nation cannot, by poſſibility, be taken in the preſent ſtate of this bleeding, unhappy country; and therefore if a queſtion of ſuch vaſt moment ſhall be brought forward in ſuch a a ſituation of the kingdom, I cannot view it in any other light, than a deliberate reſolution to carry the meaſure either by force or fraud. But, Sir, in recommendation of a Union, I am aſtoniſhed to hear moſt extraordinary topics reſorted to. You are told that his Majeſty and the diſaffected part of our people are united in their wiſhes for the meaſure. We are adviſed to betake ourſelves to a Union, as our only refuge from the want of integrity in our own Parliament and in the Government of the country. Sir, I cannot liſten to ſo ſcandalous a libel upon my Sovereign, without reprobating the imputation. It is not in his exalted nature, to form any ſort of communion with diſappointed traitors; nor can I hear without indignation, any aſperſion upon our Parliament, or the Adminiſtration of Ireland, becauſe I am clear that the obvious effect of it is, to pamper the malignity, and to realize the pretences of the horrible conſpiracy from which the nation has ſo lately, and ſo narrowly eſcaped.

Without any weight from property, influence or connection, I conſider myſelf as having as dear, and as highly valued pledges in this country, as any other man in it without exception. As a profeſſional man, my very exiſtence depends upon the ſtability of the ſtate, and

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and the favour of my countrymen. What impreſſion my ſentiments may make upon you, I cannot preſume to ſay; but I have given them to you ſincerely. I think I ſee a cloud riſing above our horizon, more livid, more fraught with deſolation, than appeared at any time during the late rebellion. But I will not deſpair: The effuſions of manly ſenſe and ſpirit, which I have this night witneſſed in this numerous and moſt reſpectable aſſembly, have greatly animated my hope, that your deciſion will operate as a ſalutary conductor, in diverting the deathful fire from the boſom of your country.

Mr. GOULD.—Before I entered this room, my mind was made up, not only on the original motion now under conſideration, but on the abſtract queſtion of an incorporating Union between Great Britain and Ireland. I had determined, that on the original reſolution propoſed by my honourable and much reſpected friend, I would not ſay a word; hoping as I did that a propoſition ſo temperate in its conſtruction, and ſo reaſonable in its object, would have paſſed this Aſſembly with out oppoſition; that it would have been received with acclamation, without the neceſſity of diſcuſſion. I have been diſappointed—It has already undergone, and is undergoing diſcuſſion: in its outſet it has met with determined oppoſition.

Nor has my diſappointment been the leſs bitter, when I conſider, that that very oppoſition has proceeded from a quarter of much weight and reſpectability among us; of much value on the ſcore of affection and gratitude, in the hiſtory of *Iriſh* affairs. I am, I ſay, Sir, deeply affected, when I conſider the melancholy inſtability of human

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human conduct; the extraordinary and unaccountable revolutions of the human mind. Is it not then lamentable to think, that a name which Ireland never can forget, whose exertions in her favour, Ireland never can repay, that name, which in the year 1782, by an happy and successful combination of ardent sincerity, and gigantic intellect, went no small way in contributing to atchieve the independence of this country, should in the year 1798 be the *first* to surrender *that* independence? Is it not a source of sorrow and indignation, that a name which in the year 1782 would have fought and died for the liberties and constitution of *Ireland*, should in the year 1798 be the *first* to sacrifice both, not to the wants, or convenience of Great Britain, but to the profligate and interested plans of an artful and designing Minister?

By what fatality has it happened, by what process of the human understanding, is it to be accounted for, that the same hand that once held the shield, should now hold the dagger; that, *that* constitution which was once the object of anxious care and protection, should now become the inviting object of hostility and murder. I have said before, that Ireland never *could*, I say it now, Ireland never *can* forget *this name*.

In the midst of these melancholy observations, there is not wanting unto me much of pride and consolation. Perhaps the history of any country in Europe never exhibited to the eyes or understanding of men, a more awful, interesting, and dignified spectacle, than *that* before me; and it is not with hope, but with confidence I say, that the result of this day will justify the observation of an eloquent writer; "That an additional fold in the shield of liberty, is an *independent Bar*." Perhaps the history of

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no country on earth ever recorded a moment, which under all its circumſtances, created a ſtronger intereſt than this. The Iriſh Bar, that great proportion of the thinking maſs of this country, are aſſembled on the Lord's day, (a day which our children may yet look for in the calendar, with emotions of augmented piety and veneration) not for the purpoſe of factious debate, but for the more glorious and important end, of national dignity, and national peace; and as they have but recently contributed to ſave the Monarchy from the encroachments of a populace, ſo it is my fervent prayer to the Almighty, that they may be able to ſave from the deſigns of avarice or ambition, the freedom and laws, and pride, and dignity, and conſtitution, of a great but unfortunate people.

But you have been moved to adjourn your meeting until this day month. Under the ſpecious pretext of more mature conſideration, I think I can diſcover the certain operation of political cunning. You have been told by a gentleman, bearing a name of no ſmall authority and power, and influence in this country, that a debate ſo lightly conſidered, and ſo quick in its determination, may be liable to be miſrepreſented. I agree with that learned gentleman; I ſtood not in need of his atteſtation, to know that we may be, as we have hitherto been, libelled. I know it to demonſtration, that we have not been able to preſerve the debate, and reſult of our meeting a few days ſince, from falſe and wicked miſrepreſentation. I know that one of the ableſt and moſt virtuous men in this kingdom was groſsly libelled in one of the daily papers. Let it not be told me that there are but *one* ſet of prints, that have contributed to our late misfortunes—I tell you, Sir, that if one writer can ſeduce, another may goad a people into rebellion. I hold thoſe in *pari delicto*, who dare

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dare to libel the Government, and thoſe who dare to libel the People. I hold thoſe equally culpable, who ſhall dare to miſrepreſent the Prince to the People, and thoſe who ſhall dare to miſrepreſent the People to the Prince. I hold it equally deteſtable, to repreſent the Prince to the People, as a tyrant, and the People to the Prince, as fit only to be ſlaves.

Alas! to what incalculable hazards and danger, are they willing to expoſe all that is dear to Iriſhmen, who ſpeak to me of an incorporating Union between Great Britain and Ireland. In vain ſhall they urge to me, as has been done this day, the inviting (and as they call it) tempting advantages, that in a commercial detail, may be gained by it. On a great conſtitutional queſtion, my mind recoils from the ſtupid and unfeeling work of calculation. On a great conſtitutional queſtion, my mind diſdains to be governed by the rules of vulgar arithmetic. He is the libeller of my underſtanding; he is the violator of my beſt and fineſt feelings, who dares to tell me, that he can give me an *equivalent* for independence, and a *bargain* for the conſtitution; and ſhall endeavour to prove it to me, by the rule of three direct. When was it ever heard of, that the free conſtitution of a great People, was a marketable commodity? When was it ever heard of, that the independence of a great nation, formed an article in the ſchedule of her export or import trade? When was it ever heard of, that national feeling, and pride, and dignity, could be aſcertained, by the application of geometry, or numerical calculation?

I ſay, then, that on this great, awful, and tremendous ſubject, I will not treat with the Britiſh Miniſter, or the Britiſh Merchant, with his pen in one hand, and his Ledger

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Ledger in the other—or if I do treat with him, I shall treat with him on grounds, on which he never can come up to my price. He may open to *me*, *his Ledger*—I shall open to *him*, the great volume of human nature. He may read for *me*, his string of entries, and calculations—I shall read for *him*, the inexhaustible detail of my just and honourable feelings. He may offer to tempt *me*, by his system of commerce—I shall resist the temptation, with the whole system of national feeling, national pride, dignity, affection, and prejudice.

I repeat it—my mind is made up, on the abstract question of an incorporating Union, between this kingdom and Great Britain. Encumber it, as you please, with the whole detail of commercial advantages, I will not have it. I tell you, Sir, if this Union should take place, and that the British and Irish interests should ever clash, it is not possible that the British Minister can be the best judge, or guardian, of the *Irish* interests. The British Minister must, for ever, be subservient to the will, and interests of the British merchant—the British merchant must, for ever, be subservient to his own interest. Should ever, then, such an unfortunate competition of interests arise, I will not entrust the welfare of Ireland to the impartiality of the British Minister, or the disinterested candour of the British merchant. I will not transfer from Irishmen, the privilege of considering the welfare of Ireland. I will not surrender *that* to any nation upon earth.

I think I argue from the necessary operations of the human passion on the human conduct, when I say, that the British Merchant will force the British Minister to be *British*, even on the subject of *Irish* affairs. And when

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the queſtion of ſelf-intereſt once ſpeaks, it ſpeaks in a voice of thunder; the conſiderations of equity and juſtice are too feeble to be heard. In ſuch a ſituation, as well might you expect from the oyſter the ſagacity of human intellect; as well might you expect from the famiſhed tiger, the ſympathy of human feeling, as from the Britiſh Miniſter, and Britiſh Merchant, a due and impartial conſideration, as well as an honeſt and feeling conduct, touching the affairs of this our country.

But you are, at this moment, under the *influence* of *that* Britiſh Miniſter. We are; and I will rather truſt to the *influence*, than to the *power*, of the Britiſh Miniſter. I will not adopt any meaſure, which can annihilate the principle of regeneration. It is poſſible, that Iriſhmen may yet underſtand, and feel, and act up to, the true intereſts of Ireland. The principle, by which a foreign, detrimental intereſt, is kept up, in this country, is uncertain, and precarious. The motives of ſelf-intereſt, are certain, and eternal. They ceaſe only with the extinction of the human qualities, in human nature.

If I am an enemy to the principle of an Union, in whatever ſhape, and under whatever modifications you pleaſe; ſo am I diſguſted with the artful and inſidious language with which the queſtion is uſhered to the notice of the public mind. Much talk there has been, of the protection and generoſity of Great Britain, in the hour of our danger, and in the day of our diſtreſs: I am as happy as any man that liveth, in bearing teſtimony unto the protection and generoſity of Great Britain. I am a friend, a moſt hearty and decided friend, to the *connection* between Great Britain and Ireland; but I will not wound the delicacy of the friendſhip of Great Britain, by ſurrendering

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rendering a Conſtitution I have already taken a ſolemn oath to maintain; nor ſhall I betray a truſt delegated to me by my forefathers, as the right of inheritance of my children for ever.

Much talk there has alſo been, of the ſacrifices which Great Britain is ready, and willing, to make, for the benefit of Ireland. She is forſooth, nobly and generouſly inclined, at the expence of her own intereſts, to concede unto Ireland, an incorporating, a legiſlative Union. She is the firſt to offer a boon, which neither reaſon nor dignity can refuſe! Is the intellectual mind of this country ſo fallen? Are we become ſo ſtupified, by our misfortunes? that we cannot diſcover, under this maſque, and habit of candour and diſintereſtedneſs, the vital form and principle of cunning and ſelfiſhneſs. *Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.* I will judge for myſelf. I will not truſt, on the queſtion of our importance as a nation, to the candour and generoſity of the Britiſh Miniſter. Let him gild the pill as he pleaſes, I will not ſwallow it. And here again, do all my feelings of national pride, and dignity, find full force and operation. I deſpiſe not for my country, the *kind offices* of any nation. I diſdain that ſhe ſhould be the *mendicant* of any nation; therefore, on that ſcore, I will not be under any obligation to Great Britain.

But, we are fertile in reſources. We can, and ought to contribute to the neceſſities of England. I would embark my laſt ſhilling in the cauſe of England—I would ſtand or fall by her; but I will not be cajoled by her. She ſhall not reduce me to bankruptcy, and ſay ſhe did ſo for my advantage. She ſhall not reduce me to beggary, under the pretext of an advantageous bargain. If

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I am to be a bankrupt, and a beggar, I ſhall be ſo with the ſolitary, but ineſtimable conſolation, that, with my eyes open, I have been a bankrupt and beggard myſelf, for a friend in diſtreſs. I will not ſubmit to the degrading ſtate of becoming bankrupt and beggar, under the pretext and cover of a commercial ſpeculation.

But this nation, from her ſituation, language, and conſtitution, ought to be, and muſt ultimately be, a part of Great Britain. I underſtand, and feel the argument. There are forty thouſand troops, in Britiſh pay, in Ireland; yet, with forty thouſand bayonets at my heart, I would tell the Britiſh Miniſter, he *ſhall* not, *can* not plant another Sicily in the boſom of the Atlantic. With as many advantages as antient Sicily ever poſſeſſed, we have to plead for us the encreaſed and encreaſing light of human nature, the uncalculated and incalculable ſtrides of the human underſtanding. In this country, we have as grateful a ſoil, as temperate a climate, as convenient ports, and as ſafe harbours, as ever Sicily poſſeſſed. We have a more hardy, and a more ſturdy race of inhabitants; and we have *that* which is paramount to them all, without which, theſe advantages are but as ſo many temptations to ruin: we have an intellectual mind, devoted to the cauſe of liberty and independence. It is impoſſible then, that the moſt profligate Miniſter that ever exiſted, can ſucceed in making us a province of any country. With a population of near five millions of people, with a territory of conſiderable extent and dominions; with the moſt convenient ports and harbours in the habitable world; with a brave and hardy race of inhabitants; with a benignity of climate, and fertility of ſoil, demonſtrated by every hour of our exiſtence, and every inch of our territory—it is impoſſible

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ble that we were, in the diſtribution of nature, intended for a province. Travel from North to South, from Eaſt to Weſt, you will ſee the bounties of Providence. I want not the aſſiſtance of Divine inſpiration, to foretell; I am enabled, by the viſible and unerring demonſtrations of nature, to aſſert, that Ireland was deſtined to be an independent nation. Our patent to be a ſtate, and not a ſhire, comes direct from Heaven. The Almighty has, in mageſtic characters, ſigned the grand charter of our independence. The great Creator of the World has given unto our beloved country, the gigantic outlines of a kingdom, and not the pigmy features of a province. God and Nature, I ſay, never intended that Ireland ſhould be a province; and, by God, ſhe never ſhall.*

But, (continued Mr. Goold) if it had pleaſed Providence to deny unto my country theſe numerous advantages; if he had given unto it an unwholeſome climate, and an ungrateful ſoil; if every inch of our coaſts formed a precipice, inſtead of a ſhore, yet would I not repine at ſuch a ſtate, and lament the want of ſuch luxurious benefits of nature. I would praiſe that God that made me free and independent; and if, in ſuch a ſtate, and with ſuch a feeling, there could be cauſe for lamentation, it would be, that perhaps there exiſted, within my own view, a brave and generous people holding out, in the boſom of their country, all theſe glorious advantages, not as the ſources of freedom and proſperity, but as ſo many temptations to hoſtility and ruin. I do maintain it, Sir, that no nation can be called a free and independent nation, where it is not competent to it to make its

* Such was the ſenſation of the aſſembly at this moment, that they expreſſed themſelves by reiterated burſts of applauſe,

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own laws. I caution my countrymen, againſt this act of folly and injuſtice; they have no right to diſpoſe of the inheritance of their poſterity. They are not only dupes, but falſe truſtees, who are willing to transfer for ever, not only the right, but the power of binding Ireland by Iriſh laws.

But, Sir, if I am an enemy to this incorporating Union, on the broadeſt principle on which it can preſent itſelf to the human underſtanding, it is not without emotions of horror and indignation, that I contemplate the ſeaſon fixed upon for the diſcuſſion of the ſubject. Is it brought forward to this country, in the calm moment of unbiaſſed collected volition? Is it brought forward, at the moment of our proſperity and ſtrength? Alas! three months have ſcarcely expired, ſince open rebellion ſtalked through your land. Is it, I ſay, at ſuch a ſeaſon, that a queſtion of ſuch magnitude, ſhould be offered to the cool, unbiaſſed judgment of the gentry of Ireland? At a moment in which they are panic ſtruck, they are paralized with fear, at a moment in which a principle of alarm has ſeized upon the dominion of the underſtanding—a principle, ſo quick and violent in its operation, as not only to miſlead the judgment, but ſuſpend the qualities of the heart; and by tending to make men forget, that the beſt way of avoiding danger is to meet it, it makes men fly from phantoms even into the jaws of death. Yes, but the Union will ſettle all your differences, heal all your wounds; it is a real panacea. No man ſhall prevail on me to take a medicine, which cures the diſtemper only by killing the patient.

But,

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But, if from theſe, and many other coſiderations, this be a time unfitted for the reception of ſuch a queſtion among *us*; what ſhall be ſaid of the ſeaſon, in which it pleaſeth the Britiſh Miniſter, to offer this queſtion to the conſideration of the Iriſh people. Is it the day of her own humiliation, and the hour of her own diſtreſs, that ſhe chuſes as the moment for a fair, and, perhaps, feeling diſcuſſion? No! No! She has choſen the hour of ſplendid and deciſive victory—an hour, in which her navy (thank god,) is invincible, and her ſtanding army is unprecedently numerous and powerful. Is her language to Ireland, the affectionate language of a ſiſter? Does ſhe aſk Ireland, in a fair and open manner, to come forward and contribute to her wants, and endeavour to prop up her falling reſources? No! It is beneath the dignity of Great Britain, to put the queſtion to ſuch a teſt. No! No! She offers unto us better manners, better morals, more advantages commercial and agricultural, than we before poſſeſſed; ſhe offers unto us ſecurity, and peace, and good government—I have, in vain, looked for this diſintereſted offer, in the immutable nature of things—I have, in vain, ſearched for it, in the character of the Britiſh nation, or any nation upon earth—I know nothing leſs ſteady, than the abſtract fidelity and diſintereſtedneſs of any nation.

I own, I have not ſufficient intellect to comprehend, or faith to believe, that on this queſtion, of an incorporating Union, the Britiſh Miniſter is much influenced by the conſiderations of the welfare of Ireland. And here too, I am to look, in vain, for ſuch a principle, in the whole ſyſtem of his political life. I own, I have not ſufficient illumination of intellect to underſtand, or credulity

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credulity to ſuppoſe, that this Union is intended to be the Union of wealth, with poverty for the purpoſe of general diffuſion—I own, I can well conceive this to be an Union between threatening bankruptcy, and ſpringing induſtry; I own, I can well conceive this to be an Union between expiring grandeur, and infant and growing proſperity. Sure I am, that I can foreſee, in this Union, the ſeeds and principles of enmity and ſeparation; and if it was on this ground only, with ſuch a feeling, as I have, on the advantages and bleſſings of the connection that exiſts between us, I ſhould be wanting to my own conſiſtency, to the eſteem I have for Great Britain, to the affection I bear my country, to the ſanctity of the truſt repoſed in me for the riſing generation, did I not declare myſelf in this public manner, and in this reſpectable aſſembly, hoſtile even to the broadeſt and faireſt principle of an incorporating Union, between Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. Wm. Bellew ſaid, he would not have riſen to trouble the meeting with his ſentiments on the ſubject in debate, were it not for the aſſertion which had been made by a learned gentleman who had lately ſpoken. That gentleman had thought proper to aſſert, that the Catholics of Ireland were, to *a man*, friendly to an Union, and had imputed this their alledged favourable opinion, to motives which appeared to him of the moſt unworthy deſcription. Connected as he (Mr. Bellew) was, and in habits of intimacy with the leading gentlemen of that perſuaſion himſelf, a member of it, and from the opportunities he had of knowing the general opinion of the Catholics, on political ſubjects, he felt that to paſs over that aſſertion in ſilence, would, in fact, be giving his aſſent to it; he therefore found himſelf under

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der the neceſſity of declaring, that the fact was not as ſtated. He ſaid, the Catholics of Ireland had given no general opinion on the ſubject. They had never met to conſider it; they probably would do ſo in the courſe of the week, and in the mean time, from his own intercourſe with them, he knew ſeveral who were inclined to one way of thinking on the ſubject, and ſeveral to the other. This, he ſaid, was ſufficient to ſhew how unfounded the aſſertion was, which had been made. As to the motives which had been imputed as the ground of the ſuppoſed partiality of the Catholics to the meaſure in queſtion, he, for one, as a man of honour, begged leave to diſclaim them in the moſt unqualified manner, as motives unbecoming men of principle or liberal feeling, and ſuch as, he truſted, never would form the baſis of any part of the conduct of the Catholics of Ireland. Mr. Bellew begged to be underſtood as not meaning to charge the learned gentleman with any intentional miſrepreſentation; he was incapable of making ſuch a charge againſt any gentleman, and entertained no doubt but that the learned gentleman had conceived the aſſertion which he made to be well founded. Having ſaid ſufficient on this ſubject, Mr. Bellew ſaid, that being on his legs, he would ſay one word as to the queſtion before the meeting. He remarked that much had been ſaid by gentlemen who oppoſed the original motion, which appeared to him to be quite irrelevant. The only point before the meeting was, whether this was a fit time to propoſe a meaſure, which goes in the moſt extenſive degree to alter our Legiſlative authority. whether ſuch a meaſure, if propoſed at a proper time, would, or would not, be for the benefit of this kingdom, was a queſtion not at all ſubmitted for debate. On the point before the meeting, he ſaid he could not heſitate

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to ſay, that he was convinced in his own mind, it was not a proper time to propoſe ſuch a meaſure, nor could he conceive how the reverſe could be argued, unleſs it were alledged, that all which has hitherto been conſidered requiſite towards fitting the mind for cool and ſolemn deliberation on a point touching our deareſt intereſts, was wrongly conſidered ſo, and that oppoſite circumſtances to thoſe hitherto conſidered, as favourable to cool and temperate deliberation, were henceforward to be adopted as moſt ſuitable to it. He could not help being aſtoniſhed at ſeeing the learned gentleman who moved the adjournment, and of whoſe ſenſe and underſtanding he had the higheſt opinion, call for a month to deliberate. Did he want a month for the purpoſe of determining whether an Union would or would not be beneficial to Ireland? If he did, he (Mr. Bellew) would tell him no ſuch queſtion was before them, and that a month's deliberation would not perhaps ſuffice on ſuch a queſtion; but did he ſincerely want a month to conſider the only queſtion before them, viz. whether this was a fit time to propoſe it. Surely on that queſtion the learned gentleman could at once make up his mind one way or the other, and would hardly expect to be thought ſerious, when he expreſſed his apprehenſion, that by deciding now on ſuch a queſtion, the Bar would ſtand convicted of precipitation and raſhneſs, and would forfeit their claim to attention from the public. It had been argued, that by agreeing to the original reſolution, we determine on the merits of an Union at large; but ſurely every gentleman preſent well knows, that it is every day's practice in the profeſſion, to apply to the court to poſtpone a trial, on the ground of the public mind in the county from whence the jury is to come, being in that ſtate which is not ſuited to a fair,

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cool, and diſpaſſionate enquiry into the merits of the caſe to be laid before them. It is every day's practice to poſtpone trials on ſufficient proof that ſuch is the ſtate of the public mind in the county; and was it ever yet argued, that by ſuch poſtponement an opinion was pronounced on the merits of the caſe hereafter to be ſubmitted to diſpaſſionate inveſtigation. Mr. Bellew then ſaid, that he felt a full conviction that the public mind was not in a ſtate which fitted it for calm deliberation, and that therefore he would vote for the original motion; but that in ſo doing, he gave no opinion on the general queſtion, of the good or evil effects of an Union, which was not at all before him, and on which he had not made up his mind. He concluded by obſerving, that the queſtion had been ſo fully ſpoken to by thoſe on the ſame ſide with him, that without being guilty of repetition, of which he was not fond, it was not eaſy to ſay more on the ſubject, and that he would therefore trouble the meeting no further.

Mr. Orr.—Mr. Smith, I profeſs myſelf an enemy to the very principle of an incorporate Union with England. And in the preſent ſtate of the connection, England cannot offer an equivalent for the ſurrender of our independence. At a former period when the queſtion was conſidered, we were then in a very different ſituation. We had a Parliament controuled by the Parliament of England, and we had no trade or manufacture but, the making and exporting linen cloth. The direct importation of goods from the Weſt Indies, rum excepted, without firſt landing them in England, was prohibited—And the exportation of woollen goods was totally prevented. At that period, I ſhould have been more willing to have

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ſubſcribed to the aſſertion of a gentleman, who has ſpoken on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, that the South was friendly to the Union." At preſent the South has every advantage it can deſire, without an Union. What remains to be regulated, except the channel trade? (Here there was ſome noiſe.) The gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide, have wiſhed the queſtion ſhould be debated with temper; I think I am doing ſo, I think I am arguing the queſtion fairly. But there may be perſons who would wiſh that it ſhould not be diſcuſſed with either argument or temper, well-knowing that ſenſeleſs intemperate oppoſition defeats its own purpoſe. Sir, I was ſaying that nothing remains to be regulated but the channel trade—And I think we have as good reaſon to expect an equitable ſettlement of the points ſtill in difference in our preſent ſtate, as with an Union. Experience juſtifies my opinion. For without an Union, we have obtained greater commercial advantages, than thoſe, which forty years ago mercantile intereſt would have thought a good price for our independence. By this meaſure we ſhould not gain any ſhare in the Eaſt-India trade as a nation. And as individuals, we may become proprietors, by purchaſing India ſtock. Another argument has been uſed for the meaſure. The vices of our own Government. Yet with all their demerits, there are ſtrong proofs of their being an Iriſh Government. The political and commercial acquirements of the country, from the year 1753, down to the preſent period, prove my poſition. But admitting the vices of our own Government I cannot think our ſituation would be improved by taking refuge from Iriſh folly and Iriſh injuſtice, in the wiſdom and liberality of the Britiſh Senate. The Iriſh Parliament will not ſuffer by a compariſon with the Engliſh Parliament. The Miniſters of each country can command their hollow majorities in their reſpective aſſembly.

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If at the end of forty years Ireland owes twelve millions. England, in not a great deal more than double the time, owes five hundred millions. In ſtating the account, the ballance is greatly in favour of our own Parliament. But I heſitate not to ſay, that if the advantages of the Union were not doubted, we ſhould reject it.

No bribe ſhould tempt a nation to renounce their honour and abdicate their independence. The anceſtors of the different inhabitants of this country have always been zealouſly attached to liberty, and at one time or another, have in their turn bled in the defence of freedom. Be ye ſuch anceſtors to your children. Many of you have ſworn attachment to the Conſtitution. I too have taken that oath—I will keep it religiouſly—I hope you will do ſo. And I have done.

Mr. STOKES ſaid, had he the good fortune to have agreed in opinion with the gentleman who ſpoke laſt, and with the number of gentlemen on the ſame ſide who had preceded him, he certainly would not have obtruded himſelf on the attention of the meeting, to enforce obſervations which has been ſo ably enforced before; but he had the misfortune to differ from them, and he could aſſure the bar he felt it as a misfortune. For the gentleman who had brought forward the reſolution that day, he had the higheſt and moſt unfeigned reſpect. That gentleman well knew he had a reſpect not merely following the unanimous voice of the public, but founded on many years acquaintance. Were not that gentleman preſent, he ſhould ſay more; here he would not have ſaid thus much, but that he could not diſſent ſo widely from that gentleman's opinion, without

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out feeling ſome apology neceſſary; but the meeting was called, to collect the ſenſe of the Bar upon the ſubject. That ſenſe never could be fairly collected, if any man there, ſuffered himſelf to be governed by any conſideration under Heaven, but the conviction of his own mind, upon the ſubject. He thought himſelf, indeed, peculiarly called upon, to obtrude himſelf, for a ſhort time, upon their attention. On his coming to the place of meeting to-day, the gentleman who has moved the adjournment, mentioned to me his intention of doing ſo. He had perfectly agreed with that gentleman in opinion, that the Bar, having once agreed to take the queſtion into conſideration, ought not, in conſideration of their country, in conſideration of their own character, to come to a precipitate deciſion. He had liſtened to all the arguments uſed by the gentlemen who had ſupported the contrary opinion; but had as yet heard nothing to ſatisfy him that opinion was ill founded; and while this was the caſe, he could not but feel that it would be mean and ungenerous in him to leave that gentleman unſupported. The numbers and talents of the ſpeakers who had appeared on the other ſide, and the ſkill which they had availed themſelves of the topics for popular declamation which it afforded, gave a colour of popularity to it, which encreaſed the reluctance which he muſt feel in coming forward to oppoſe them; but a reluctance on this ground alone, it was every man's duty to overcome. Nothing, in his opinion, had done more miſchief to this country, than that obſequious ſervility to whatever happened to be the faſhionable opinion of the day, and the hunting for popular applauſe, when not ſanctioned by ſelf-approbation. The one was the effect of baſe timidity, the

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other of a moſt depraved, corrupt, and deſpicable ambition. Nothing more prevented the public mind from being fairly collected, nor was more the bane of national proſperity. In that aſſembly, however, he had the pleaſure to think, that however his opinions might be condemned by any, he would not be condemned by any for avowing them. If any peculiar way of thinking, made him differ from ſome gentlemen, whoſe opinions he moſt reſpected, it was what he muſt lament; but he was ſure they would themſelves do juſtice to his motives. Differ with them indeed he felt he muſt, and moſt widely, but particularly on the preſent queſtion. The queſtion of taking one month's time for the diſcuſſion of the ſubject. He ever muſt think that the meaſure of conducting the political concerns of thoſe countries, by an united inſtead of a divided Legiſlature, was one that, though it might be *ultimately*, ought not to be *precipitately* decided, one way or the other. If, on due examination, it proves a bad one, let it, in God's name, be rejected for ever; and if rejected, after due examination, it will be rejected for ever; but precipitate diſcuſſion may produce heat and agitation, but never can produce ſtability. I own, Sir, that with great reſpect for the gentlemen who have gone before me, this queſtion has not been yet put upon the right ground. They have enumerated various diſadvantages flowing from a Union; ſome of them, I own, to my mind appear viſionary, and ſome much ſlighter than is contended for. No doubt in every change ſome diſadvantage will be felt ſomewhere. Change is in itſelf a diſadvantage; but the true way of conſidering this queſtion, is to look to the ſituation of the country. See whether ſomething muſt not be changed; and then ſee what change is the ſafeſt. He agreed moſt entirely with the gentlemen on the other ſide,

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ſide, who ſaid our ſituation was an awful one; it was ſo in the extreme. Is was unneceſſary to enumerate the cauſes which made it ſo; they came too near us, and lay too freſhly bleeding in our memories, to require a recital; they muſt be preſent to the mind of every public body, that met to deliberate upon the concerns of the nation. Great and dreadful are the evils we have ſuffered; and no queſtion can be more near to our hearts, than how we are to find remedies for thoſe we have ſuffered, and how we are to guard againſt ſimilar ones in future. But can we do this by ſhrinking from the conſideration of any great meaſure that is offered us as a remedy? Can we do it, by deferring or obſtructing diſcuſſion on ſuch a ſubject? Is it not childiſh to ſay, that we will not conſent to the meaſure that is propoſed to us becauſe we muſt experience ſome loſſes, and give up ſome advantages nominal at leaſt, and perhaps real, without weighing or conſidering what is the real value of what we are to loſe, and what we are to get; what do we really give up; what are we likely really to obtain? Is this the part of enlightened politicians? Is it the part of rational men?

I am not now ſaying whether we ought or ought not to adviſe the nation to liſten to this offer, I am ſpeaking merely of the queſtion of adjournment; is a month too long a time for conſidering a queſtion of ſuch moment to the whole Iriſh nation, not only its preſent inhabitants, but millions and millions of Iriſhmen yet unborn? Does it become this learned, this enlightened body, trained up in the ſobriety of judgment, which is the ſureſt teſt, and the happieſt conſequence of wiſdom; to report before they examine, to try without evidence, to decide before they hear? Surely Sir, amongſt other conſiderations, it

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it will not be denied me, that a great part of the evils and benefits of an Union, muſt depend upon the reliſh or diſreliſh of it, that may appear among the various claſſes and deſcriptions of people in this country, and without going into minute particulars. Surely, Sir, it may be collected from this night's debate, that we are as yet totally in the dark upon this ſubject; but, Sir, it is needleſs to go on with an ennumeration of this ſort, every gentleman who hears me, will perceive how numerous and important are the various matters that muſt be weighed in conſidering this ſubject, before we can tell on which ſide the balance will turn; then, Sir, is it not rational and manly to look our ſituation ſteadily in the face, to probe our wound to the quick, without ſhrinking, and ſee whether if we can trace out the ſource from whence our diſorders ſpring, it may not be in power to apply a radical cure; let me then ſolemnly aſk this enlightened and thinking aſſembly, one moſt ſerious queſtion, let them aſk it of their own hearts and underſtandings, is or is not, has or has not, the nature and modification of our connection with Great Britain, been the cauſe of all or any of the misfortunes of this iſland? If it has, is it not worth the ſerious conſideration of every Iriſhman who feels for his native country, to enquire, whether among the infinite modes in which the nature of that connection may be varied, it may not be altered for the better, and how? I hear ſome diſſatisfaction expreſſed at what I have ſaid, but, perhaps, gentlemen did not apprehend me; I did not ſay our *connection* with Great Britain was the cauſe of our misfortunes, nothing can be more oppoſite to the whole train of my opinions on this ſubject; I ſpoke only of the nature and modification of this connection, a ſeparation of the two countries, I hold to

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be an idea the wildeſt and moſt dangerous; for thoſe who conceived it, if any ever ſeriouſly conceived it, muſt have forgotten the geographical ſituation of the two countries, their hiſtory, and the various ties that bind their intereſts together; had, indeed, Providence been pleaſed to have fixed the foundation of this iſland five hundred leagues farther into the ocean, far from the crooked politics of Europe, trained up to defend herſelf alone, and with the natural advantages ſhe ſo eminently poſſeſſes, ſhe might be fully ſufficient to her own ſecurity; but nature and fate have ordained it otherwiſe; placed as it were in the boſom of Great Britain, guarded as it were by her, from all the reſt of Europe; the two nations, now for more than five hundred years connected together, under a common Sovereign, identified together. As one nation, as to all the other powers of Europe, uſing the ſame laws, language, manners, and religion, the natives of the one country received as natives in the other, bound together by the ſympathies of friendſhip, kindred, common properties, common intereſts, ſerving without diſtinction, in the armies and fleets of their common Sovereign, endeared by mutual dangers, and triumphing in mutual victories, the man who would attempt to rend them aſunder, muſt be a deadly enemy to both, or a moſt ill-judging friend to either. I can conceive nothing more dreadful than ſuch an attempt, and nothing more fatal than its ſucceſs. It would be tearing the arm from the body, agonizing both, producing debility in the one, and effecting the total deſtruction of the other; every true patriot in either country will feel, that their mutual Union is their beſt individual ſecurity. Jealouſies between her nation, who are, perhaps, injudiciouſly taught to conſider themſelves as ſeparate, are hardly to be avoided. But,

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ſure I am, that the enlightened patriots of both countries, will one day ſee, that every progreſs made towards, rooting out jealouſy, diſtruſt, and all idea of ſeparate intereſt, is a progreſs towards mutual ſecurity and mutual happineſs. Is it not then worth while to enquire, how this can be obtained, and whether the nature of our connection may not be improved, whether the two nations may not be ſafely, ſucceſsfully, and happily drawn together more cloſely. Their preſent form an Union, is that of an united crown and divided legiſlature; is it not a queſtion well worth diſcuſſing, in the preſent ſituation of this country, whether an united crown and united legiſlature, might not be a form of Union more permanent, leſs apt to promote jealouſy and diſcord, and beſt providing for the ſecurity and happineſs of both. For my part, Sir, I freely own it appears to me to come to this alternative; if the Legiſlatures of the two countries are really independent, and the parliament ſhould be the faithful organ of the will of the people, the cauſes of jealouſy exiſting between two countries, and eſpecially commercial countries, with ſeparate rights of trade, being, as they would be in that caſe given way to and indulged by the parliament of Ireland, would riſe from a war of inflammatory recriminations, and protecting or prohibiting duties, to an angry and violent attempt at a ſeparation between the two countries, and a war, which, conſidering the preſent intimate connection between them, I cannot but look upon as a kind of civil war, that would be more fatal and ruinous in its progreſs, and probably end in ſhaking Great Britain to its centre, and perhaps in the ſevere humiliation of Ireland. On the other hand, if the one Legiſlature is to be kept in a real, though not in a nominal dependence upon the other; is there not too, a great probability of this being effected

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by a dark and crooked policy, fatal to the political character of the people ſo governed; might it not be looked upon as neceſſary policy, to ſhield that Legiſlature from the people whom it repreſented, by promoting diſunion among themſelves, and thus depriving them of their natural ſtrength, or by the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of influence, fatal to probity and morals, or by both? And will not the bad effects of ſuch a ſyſtem, open, at laſt the eyes of the people, and make them ſee, that an united legiſlature is the only ſecurity for permanent tranquillity and permanent happineſs? And is it not always better to anticipate experience, and not wait for the leſſon of misfortune? In the hiſtory of Europe, we find nations united for a time by one Crown and ſeperate legiſlatures, and have they not all ſince, from a ſenſe and feeling of the weakneſs and bad political effects of ſuch a conſtitution—have they not all ſince, either conſolidated or ſeparated? Theſe reflections, and many ſuch preſenting themſelves to my mind, incline me to think a Legiſlative Union a meaſure neceſſary for the protection, ſtrength, and happineſs of theſe two united kingdoms, and of courſe advantageous to each. But upon ſo great a queſtion as this, involving ſuch a variety of conſiderations, and that may be conſidered in ſo many different lights, it would be arrogant preſumption in me to ſay, that I may not have fallen into a miſtake, which more mature reflection would correct; but do not the gentlemen on the other ſide, alſo ſay, that they are by no means pledged to the opinion, that an Union may not hereafter be conſidered by them as a meaſure advantageous for Ireland? Do not theſe very circumſtances demand a temporary adjournment, and more matured diſcuſſion of this queſtion? And would it be wiſe, in the firſt inſtance, to adopt a motion, which goes to decide againſt it altogether—(a cry of no, no.) I admit

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I admit it does not on the face of it import to be an abſolute rejection, but will it not be conſidered as ſuch by the public, who will not attend ſo much to the cautious manner in which it is worded; but conſidering the Bar to have met to day merely for the purpoſe of deciding on the queſtion of Union or no Union; and will, if we come to an abſolute deciſion to day, take for granted, and perhaps not in that be much miſtaken that it was intended as a final one; but to meet the queſtion on the ground which the framer of the reſolution ſeemed to put it, he owned he would not be of opinion that it was either *improper* or *dangerous* to agitate it at preſent; if the meaſure was as neceſſary a one as it appeared to him to be, it never could be deferred without danger. The two countries were at preſent, with exception of the rebels alone, in a ſtate of cordial agreement and good will, who could tell the moment when cauſes of diſcord might ſpring up between them, that would make all negociation upon a ſubject of this kind impoſſible, and as to the danger of diſcuſſing it at preſent, it certainly did not ſtrike him in the ſame light as it did the gentlemen on the other ſide; the chief danger which he thought to be apprehended from the diſcuſſion of it was that it was from its nature a ſubject fit to be uſed by popular declaimers as a topic of popular inflammation, and the debate of this night had not removed that apprehenſion; if even in this place and in that aſſembly, where of all others, calm and enlightened diſcuſſion was to be expected; ſome gentlemen had not refrained from that ſpecies of eloquence that is addreſſed to inflame the paſſions rather than convince the underſtanding; it certainly was to be dreaded that much more of that would take place in the diſcuſſions which this ſubject muſt undergo and ought to undergo among the people at large. This was from the very nature of the ſubject. a

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danger always to be apprehended, let it be discussed when it will. But he owned he could not but think there is less danger of this at the time, when the minds of the people have been sobered by misfortune, when we have been taught by severe experience, the danger of using, and the danger of attending to popular declamation; and the mischiefs, the dreadful mischiefs, to which popular agitation may lead. He thought no time was so likely for the people seriously to seek for a remedy, as when they seriously felt the evils of their peculiar situation. And here as on the question in general, he thought there was also something to be enquired into and known of the opinions of the people, with regard to this question, before we could pronounce with certainty on those very dangers of which, they seemed so apprehensive. All the gentlemen who moved the adjournment asked, was time for mature discussion; if the truth of the propositions, which the gentlemen on the other side had brought it, was so clear as they contended, would appear less so after one months consideration. Can truth ever be injured by examination? and has an aversion to the permitting of it ever been considered as a test of its conviction? He owned, he thought too for the sake of the character of a fuller and more complete investigation of this subject ought to be adopted, and would be more becoming than a percipitate decision. This assembly stood high, and he would say deservedly high, in the estimation of this country; he really knew not where there could be found in the whole kingdom an assembly so numerous, with judgments equally exercised, equal to them in information in talents and independence. Of all bodies in the community, it would least become them decide without examination. The present was no time for shrinking from it, we were come to that crisis in our history, when we must look our situation seriously in the face, and ask ourselves what must be the remedy?

Separation

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Separation from England was an idea only inculcated by that power who wiſhed to divide, in order to conquer, and to conquer, only in order to blaſt the proſperity of both. If the people get their due weight in the country while the Legiſlatures are the diſtinct. I think it is eaſy to ſee a gradual progreſs mutual complaints, plunging us at laſt into a ſtate moſt calamitous and moſt deſtructive. We may to be ſure, ſhutting our eyes to the dangers that are before us, and with the thoughtleſſneſs, peculiar to our national character, hobble on in our old ſyſtem ſome years longer; but where will it end, and are we not treading on a dangerous mine when we know not to what time, or from what quarter it may ſpring and overwhelm us with deſtruction, and among a people alternating between the extremes of political apoths and the ebullitions of frantic rebellion. All the movers of the adjournment aſked was, that in matters of ſuch infinite moment, they would reflect before they acted, conſider before they decide; and ſurely that requeſt was not unreaſonable. He thanked the Bar for the kind attention with which they had honoured him, an attention which when he plainly ſaw the majority of their opinions differed ſo widely from his, he could not but regard as a proof of their liberality and candour; again repeated that he would not have obtruded himſelf on their attention. After the debate had been ſo long protracted, if it had not been that agreeing in opinion with the gentleman who moved the adjournment from the firſt, and hearing nothing, he has changed his opinion ſince; it would have been acting a mean and ungenerous part to have left that gentleman unſupported.

Mr. Geraghty ſupported the motion for adjournment, and argued, that the objection which was ſo confidently relied on, againſt the expedience of diſcuſſing the

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the question of Union at this time, from the peculiar state of public affairs, was utterly untenable, because it is the very extraordinary and distracted condition of this kingdom, which creates the very necessity for the measure; and it is very curious logic to advance a state of disorder and derangement, as an objection to a proposal which is produced by that state itself, and expressly brought forward for its amendment and relief. If in private life an individual, by a series of misconduct and extravagance, dissipates his fortune, and his affairs become embarrassed, so that nothing but a sale of his estate can save him from ruin and imprisonment, it would be highly ridiculous in proposing that sale to him, to assign as an objection, that which is the very circumstance which makes the sale necessary—namely, that his finances are distracted. It has been objected, that during this war Great Britain has rejected every application for change and innovation in her internal government, because there was a revolutionary spirit afloat, which made it dangerous, and might extend that change to revolution; and therefore it is asked, why make the present proposal to Ireland at this particular period? He answered, that it is this same revolutionary spirit which is so high in Ireland as to call for some immediate radical measure, to absorb and to extinguish it. In England it is repressed by the confidence of the nation in the excellence and firmness of their Government. But in Ireland it is encouraged by defects in the civil administration, which are not denied, but which arise from the peculiar frame of the Irish Government, and the imperfect connection between the two countries, and which defects will be removed and eradicated by an incorporated Union. The existence of these undeniable faults in the Irish Government, is made the pretext for demanding

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demanding changes in the Parliamentary eſtabliſhment, under which pretext is concealed the deep plan of effecting a democratical Legiſlature and ſeparation from England. As is proved by the Parliamentary report of the proceedings of the United Iriſhmen, that the hiſtory of this country, ſince the year 1782, eſtabliſhes the growth and progreſs of a diſpoſition in this country to ſeperate, and that the moment has come in which this diſpoſition muſt be combated, or it will prevail, and that at this inſtant there is no alternative between a reform, which will produce revolution, and an incorporated Union, which will prevent ſeperation. The power of Parliament to adopt this meaſure is incontrovertible. It has carried the ſucceſſion to the crown, and interrupted hereditary right; it has determined the time of its own duration, and frequently varied it; it preſcribes its own qualifications, and determines what deſcription of the people ſhall exerciſe the elective right, and under what circumſtances; and it has, in ſome inſtances, taken away the right of election altogether. Theſe, and many other inſtances, eſtabliſh what has been called the omnipotence of Parliament, becauſe upon the pure and genuine principles of the Engliſh Conſtitution, the two houſes of Parliament, when aſſembled, are not viewed in any delegated capacity, but are conſidered as the very body of the nation itſelf, and therefore has the full controul of its own conduct. It never was heard that the Engliſh Parliament, at any period ſince its foundation, declined any great national arrangement from its own incompetence, and wiſhed an appeal to the people. This idea is deſired from ſome other ſyſtem, and ſeems particularly taken from the undigeſted and unmatured Conſtitution of France.

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And in the ſame error is it ſaid, that the propoſed incorporated Union would be a violation of the Conſtitution, as if the Conſtitution of this country were one ſimple and indiviſible thing, which is alſo a French idea, inſtead of being, as it is, the ſyſtematiſed accumulation of the different legiſlative proviſions of judicial determinations, which, from time to time, have followed the public neceſſities, which the national wiſdom has occaſionally modified, according to new exigencies, and new combinations of circumſtances, and which experience has improved and conſolidated; and therefore it is unintelligible to aſcribe an individual's nature to ſuch a complicated whole, or to ſay that a partial modification is inconſiſtent and repugnant to that; the genius and character of which is to be modified, varied, extended, or contracted, as the neceſſities, the liberty, and the happineſs of the ſtate may require.

Mr. McGLELAND oppoſed the original reſolution, and ſupported the adjournment.

Mr. LEADER.—If the gentleman who has juſt ſat down, had not poſitively declared himſelf friendly to the amendment, I ſhould certainly, from his mode of argument, have conſidered him a zealous ſupporter of the original motion—what was his deſcription of the ſtate of the country—he was pleaſed to repreſent the loyal party triumphant, and from thence to infer, that the opportunity was favourable for a due diſcuſſion of this great and unexampled meaſure. What—does he mean not to calculate on the re-union to the ſtate, of thoſe who have been diſaffected, or of thoſe who have been claſſed with the diſaffected; or does he conſider it impoſſible, that we can ever become in this country, what

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what we always ought to have been—one family—one body—influenced by the ſame opinion, and actuated by a common ſympathy. Let me aſk him, is it the conſent of a part of the nation, that he only looks for, in the conſideration of a queſtion which, if carried, is intended, at leaſt, to bind the whole nation for ever. Is it liberal, is it wiſe, is it juſt, to adopt ſuch a mode of conduct; all thoſe who have ſpoken in favour of the adjournment, have preſſed the idea of a Legiſlative incorporating Union with Great Britain being by *poſſibility* advantageous; ſo that whilſt ſome of the ſupporters of the adjournment have, in their ſpeeches, clearly ſhewed, that the country was not in a fit ſituation to have the queſtion of Union agitated; others have, by dwelling on the *poſſibility* of an Union being advantageous, admitted the extreme importance of the diſcuſſion; and they have together ſuperſeded the neceſſity of any further argument, in favour of the original motion, by being themſelves, by their arguments, its moſt unanſwerable ſupporters. Since the queſtion has been read from the Chair, I regret that it has not been more cloſely adhered to, as read by the learned and much reſpected mover (Mr. Saurin), it was moſt ſimple, it ſtruck me as containing two propoſitions; the firſt the innovation of the conſtitution, the ſecond, the time in which that innovation was attempted; the firſt part of the motion is ſelf-evident,—an incorporating Union with Great Britain, would amount to a diſſolution of the exiſting government, much leſs to an innovation; on the ſecond ſubject, I would make an obſervation—what I aſk is the preſent ſituation of the country—is it not in the hands of a foreign army—to my argument it is not material whether its preſence is or is not neceſſary, but the fact is ſo.—Is this then the time for the diſcuſſion? Can

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the Heſſian or the Highlander, feel an intereſt or a ſympathy with us, in a queſtion which affects the deareſt and moſt important intereſts of ourſelves and our poſterity. I have no doubt but that they would protect us from the enemy. But the foreign force in Ireland is eſtimated at 40,000 men in arms, (a gentleman from the oppoſite ſide replied not ſo many), I may be wrong—I would not, for the purpoſe of the argument, intentionally exaggerate it; my authority, however, is a publication, which is aſcribed to a gentleman at the head of the military department; I do not ſay that this force, abſtracted and ſeparated from the people, and under the guidance of one perſonage, would be employed to any unworthy purpoſe—certainly not; but this I muſt ſay, that it immanacles the mind, although it may commit no inſult to the perſon. I heard, no later than yeſterday, that perſons had been executed under ſentences of court-martial, within a few days, in an adjacent county; ſcarce a paper is without ſome heart-rending account of popular exceſſes, and can it be wiſe to diſcuſs a queſtion which can only tend to inflame and exaſperate the public mind, and if carried, muſt have all the appearance of being extorted by force, and not the reſult of inclination. I do confeſs, that I eſteem it an outrage on our feelings, and an inſult on our humanity, that a queſtion of this momentous nature ſhould be coquetted into our country, before its bleeding wounds are bound up, before we have had time to condole at our reſpective loſſes, and before we have heard from our families, the details of injuries which they might have ſuſtained, or calamities which they might have ſuffered, in a never to be too ſincerely regretted civil conteſt. Without being the dupe of faction, or the ſlaviſh and ſubmiſſive tool of power, I feel myſelf, from the turn which the debate has taken, to be in a moſt embarraſſed

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rassed predicament; the supporters of the adjournment, profess a desire to have the merits of the measure canvassed, though the resolution precludes the discussion, as *dangerous* and *impolitic*, and they complain that no satisfactory arguments have been advanced, though they themselves, have not travelled out of the circle of desultory observation. For one, I should be happy to give my aid in the discussion of the commercial part of the question. Exclusive of the innumerable ruinous consequences of an Union; in my mind, there can be no question of the impolicy of exposing ourselves to be undersold by the British merchant, in the home market, for the only compensation which Great Britain can offer, and that an extremely delusive one, an unrestricted, instead of the at present modified right to endeavour to undersell the British merchant, in the British market. My anxiety, however, to confine myself to the question, prevents my going further than to declare my opinion on this subject; but, I confess, I dread extremely, that under the existing administration, the national voice cannot be fairly collected on this measure; acts of terror and of torture, leave a lasting impression on the human mind, and cannot fail to operate on the immediate public conduct of a large portion of the community, and it surely would be infinitely better, that the measure should never be discussed, than that it should receive a hollow and insincere approbation.

And here let me deplore the ungenerous, the unmanly conduct of the British Cabinet. Why was not this question proposed on any former occasion. This Cabinet was well acquainted with our danger before the Rebellion. If the Union was a wise and unexceptionable measure, and calculated to prevent future conspiracy

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and rebellion? Why was it not used to counteract and diminish the horrors of that conspiracy from which we can scarcely be considered to have escaped? Has any man of that Cabinet ever before publicly expressed himself inclined to this measure? Why in 1785, when the affairs of Ireland were so perturbed, did not Mr. Pitt express the expediency of this Minister. We recollect that the Administations of those times were running a course of popularity, in their conduct to Ireland. We know that the stubborn and independent spirit of our country at that time made it necessary for his Majesty's Minister to weigh with trembling solicitude and anxiety; though not with the expanded views of genuine magnanimity, the reciprocal interests of the two countries.

Would the old Volunteers of Ireland have accepted the proposal of an Union? Since then in 1785, when the public mind was unbendingly devoted to the public interests, and when the affairs of the country were agitated in the English and Irish Parliaments for some months, the Minister, and those who have deserted the opposition of England to support the Minister, did not think it adviseable to suggest the expediency of an Union, shall I, in 1798, when there is an immense armed foreign force in the country, and while it is under the influence of panic, esteem it a proper time to propound and agitate such a question. No Sir, on the contrary, I shall entertain an encreased suspicion of the expediency of the measure from the circumstance, alone of its being attempted at a period so peculiarly unfavourable to a fair, dispassionate, and honourable investigation. It is no argument, "that the augmented danger of the State requires it," because the same force which would destroy the existing Government, would separate the two kingdoms. A learned gentleman

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tleman, (Mr. GRADY) has been pleaſed to ſay that the Catholics of the South, (Waterford, Limerick, Cork,) "to a man, are anxious for the meaſure." No other Executive Director ever had ſo rapid information. It is ſcarce poſſible that the rumour of Union could have reached thoſe parts of the kingdom, when the gentleman takes upon himſelf to ſay, that remote and diſtant bodies of men were unanimouſly agreed to the meaſure. I am ſatisfied that at this hour, that the rumour has not reached the extremities of our iſland. The gentlemen has ſpoken of his intercourſe with, and information from thoſe quarters of the country. The ſtatements of fact has been already flatly contradicted by a Catholic gentleman, (Mr, BELLEW,) but who has given this learned gentlemen this excluſive information. There are many near me as deeply connected with the South, as he is. Than myſelf, no man can reſpect and revere the Catholics of that quarter more highly. But no meeting has been convened, no reſolution has been paſſed. It is notorious that this meeting is the firſt which has been ſummoned. For my part, I deplore from my heart any reſtrictions under which that great maſs of Iriſhmen may labour. But I do not think it conſiſtent with the uniform wiſdom of the enlightened men of the Catholic body, to let in the flood of Britiſh taxation, to ſurrender the independence of Ireland, and lay their liberties and commerce at the feet of the Britiſh Adminiſtration *for ever*; on the wretched preſumption that they would not be more abuſed. The Catholics have every thing to expect from the augmented liberality of their countrymen, equal and impartial juſtice. But in common with the Proteſtant, they will look with diſguſt at an innovation, which in the preſent ſtate of the two countries, would diminiſh their rental, by depreſſing our home-trade; and would deſolate our country, at the future aggrandiſement

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of Britain. I rose merely to deliver a few words on the time this question is propounded, and I hope that I may not be entirely unsuccessful in bringing back this meeting to the only question which is before us for our consideration and decision, "the danger and impropriety of attempting this innovation in the present distracted situation of our country."

Mr. PLUNKETT, very ably proved the extreme danger and impropriety of agitating the question of Union at such a time as the present. Should the Administration, however, propose a Union now, he had no doubt but it would be carried. Fear, animosity, a want of time to consider coolly its consequences, and forty thousand British troops in Ireland would carry the measure. But in a little time the people would awake, as from a dream, and what consequence would then follow, he trembled to think. For himself, he declared he opposed an Union, principally because he was convinced it would accelerate a total separation of the two countries. He dissuaded the meeting from adopting the motion of of [adjournment, because it would give a handle for further misrepresentation to those libellers who had already dared to misrepresent the motive and conduct of the Bar. It would give them an opportunity to say that the adjournment of the question argued the sense of the Bar to be for a Union. Those audacious libellers had already ventured to misrepresent in a public print the meeting of the Bar, as a military body, on Friday last. He could not believe the insolent libeller was one of the body. But some person, within or without, had taken occasion in ten minutes after that meeting was held, to carry to the Castle the falsehood, that the meeting broke up because the good sense of the Bar thought it not right in them to agitate in any manner the question of an Union.

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Union. He continued to argue, with great force and energy, upon the impropriety of the time chosen to bring this measure forward, and made many strong and pointed observations, well suited to the occasion.

Mr. Lynch, (a Catholic Barrister) concurred in opinion with Mr. Bellew, and stated to his knowledge, the Catholics of Galway and other parts of Connaught were strongly against the measure of an Union.

Mr. Francis Dobbs now rose, and said, that after the long debate that had taken place, he would trespass only a few minutes on the time of the assembly. He said that if any doubts had remained on his mind, the arguments he had just heard from his learned friend and colleague, would have removed them. He was therefore decidedly for the resolution proposed by the truly respectable Barrister who opened the business of the meeting. By doing so, he did not mean to pledge himself on the great question of an Union. He was, however, free to confess, that so far as he had considered the subject, he was of opinion that none would, or perhaps could be proposed, that would be advantageous to Ireland; but he might possibly find himself in the melancholy situation of considering it as the least of two evils. This could only arise from our own improper conduct as a nation. He therefore trusted, that every Irishman of every description, would see the necessity of healing measures; and that our own Legislature following up such opinions, would enact such laws in the ensuing session, as would put an end to the question for ever. He said he was happy to hear the patriotic sentiments expressed by many eloquent speakers who had proceeded him. He was also happy to see the warm

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approbation with which those sentiments were received, by nearly the whole of that assembly. He hoped the same zeal would follow them to every place where their influence extended, and that at length all animosities among ourselves, would yield before the great and desirable objects of constitutional freedom, and national prosperity.

Mr. Webber said, that he had come into that room determined not to take a part in the debate—it was a sacrifice of a public, to a private feeling; but that the insinuation which had more than once been made against gentlemen holding office—(he is a chairman of sessions) had induced him, though reluctantly, to depart from that determination. He trusted he was above being influenced by so paltry a motive. He was sure he was above shrinking from the suspicion of it. He considered the question of adjournment, though that least, if at all discussed, to be the only one then before the assembly. That should have his vote, and not on the grounds of an evasion of the original question, which he only lamented, was not more fully and fairly before them.

For his part he was not one of those who thought the Bar as a body, however respectable, were at all called on to decide on, or discuss the question; nor did he think it one on which they were likely to have much weight. The gentlemen who thought otherwise, urged that discussion, had avowed their purpose to be, to influence and lead the public mind on the subject. If they were to have that effect, it should at least be on mature and dispassionate deliberation. The learned gentleman who had proposed the original resolution, had objected to the conduct of Government as precipitate, in giving

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giving the public mind only the interval of from October to the meeting of Parliament, to conſider the ſubject. Other gentlemen, who had not thought proper to emulate that dignified moderation of his truly reſpectable friend, had inveighed, and in proper terms, againſt this conduct as indecent. Would thoſe gentlemen now come forward, and urge the aſſembly to decide, in one *night*, upon one heated, declamatory debate, a queſtion, which they reviled the government for not giving years to conſider. If they would undertake to legiſlate for the public mind, at leaſt they ſhould aſſume the appearance of deliberation, and ſacrifice ſomewhat of their zeal to their conſiſtency.

Much had been ſaid in ſupport of the original reſolution, reſpecting the inaptneſs of the time to diſcuſſion or deliberation, and the conſequent impropriety of ſtirring ſo momentous a queſtion at ſuch a juncture; and a learned gentleman (Mr. Plunket) with his uſual talents, had forcibly impreſſed that objection. He had aſked, and triumphantly, whether a people, one half of whom were ſuffering under puniſhment, and the other under outrages and perſecutions, were in a ſtate of mind to deliberate calmly on a great political ſubject. For his part he did not think that the active citizens who conſtituted the firſt deſcription, were then, or at any time before, in the deliberate habit of mind required by his learned friend; neither did he think them likely, at any future time, to be found in that ſtate of philoſophic compoſure, which his learned friend ſeemed ſo ſanguine to expect. It was not ſo with the wretched victims of their ferocious wickedneſs. To thoſe who remained of them, the preſent moment was perhaps the fitteſt for deliberation, which had ever or could occur to them in their lives.

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After the first paroxysms of grief or distress, the mind is in its most deliberative state. Calamity purifies the understanding, and corrects the heart. It softens down the gusts of passion, and dispels the mists of prejudice. At what time then can men be so qualified to reflect or so forcibly called to a just view of their interests? He did believe they were capable of considering those interests calmly and dispassionately; but if they were not, he was sure they were not likely to be assisted by the example of this assembly, in which calmness is clamoured for, and deliberation declaimed on.

The Chairman then put the question, and a division took place:—

Ayes, for the Adjournment,	32
Noes,	166

On which the following Resolutions were put and carried:—

At a most numerous meeting of the IRISH BAR, convened by public notice, on Sunday the 9th of December, 1798, at the Courts, and from thence adjourned to the Exhibition-room, William-street, the following Resolutions were agreed to:—

AMBROSE SMITH, Esq. Father, in the Chair.

Resolved, "*That the measure of a Legislative Union of "this kingdom and Great Britain, is an innovation which it "would be highly dangerous and improper to propose at the "present juncture of the country.*"

It was then resolved, "*That the Chairman do leave the Chair, and that* WM. SAURIN, *Esq. do take the same.*"

Resolved, "*That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our worthy Father,* AMBROSE SMITH, *Esq. for his very proper conduct in the Chair.*"

Resolved, *That the foregoing Resolutions be published.*

Signed by order,

WM. RIDGEWAY, SECRETARY.

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PROTEST.

The underſigned Members of the IRISH BAR, having attended at a meeting of that body on Sunday the 9th inſtant, at which meeting it was propoſed by Mr. SAURIN, to come to the following Reſolution:—

"Reſolved, *That the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union of "this kingdom and Great Britain, is an innovation which it "would be highly dangerous and improper to propoſe at the "preſent juncture of the country.*"

And the propoſed Reſolution having appeared highly objectionable, as well as unſeaſonable; to the underſigned, the queſtion of adjournment for one month was moved, which latter motion was negatived by a large majority, and the orignal Reſolution put and carried. The underſigned think it incumbent upon them to lay before the public the reaſons which have induced them to diſſent from ſo great a number of their brethren.

Firſt, Becauſe the original Reſolution could not be adopted without betraying the Bar into a precipitate diſapprobation of a meaſure, the term of which were unknown, and of which conſequently either approbation or diſapprobation muſt be premature, and could have no other tendency than by a haſty cenſure to prevent the diſcuſſion of a great and important queſtion, in which the conſtitutional, landed and commercial intereſts of this kingdom, as well as the ſafety of the empire, were materially involved; whereas the propoſed adjournment evidently

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evidently tended to mature the question in the mind both of the Bar and of the public, and to promote calm and deliberate discussion.

Secondly, Because in resolving that the measure of a Legislative Union of this kingdom and Great Britain is an *innovation*, it appears to the undersigned that it was intended virtually to decide against the principle of *any* Union, however fair, liberal just, and wise; such Union might be in its terms and provisions, inasmuch as altho' a change or alteration may be introduced into any system, not only consistently with, but in furtherance of the ends and essential principles of such system; yet the term *innovation* is always considered, and universally accepted as the introduction of something in its nature, foreign from, and discordant with that previous system or constitution of things upon which it is intruded, and tending to the subversion and destruction of its essential principles; and therefore also it appears to the undersigned, that the first branch of the Resolution carried, insinuates a position which the latter branch of that Resolution evades.

Thirdly, Because the chief grounds on which the original Resolution was attempted to be supported, namely, that the state of things in Ireland, and the agitation of the public mind, render it dangerous and improper to introduce or debate the question of Union at present, appear to the undersigned to fail, inasmuch as it does not seem to them that the present political organization of this country has been found to be productive of so much tranquillity or happiness, as to induce a friend

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friend to Ireland to ſhrink at this particular time, from all idea of alteration; and alſo, becauſe if any agitation has taken place in the public mind, it has evidently been occaſioned by attempts to diſſolve the connection which ſubſiſts between this country and Great Britain, which attempts, long previouſly projected, having been lately made; and the deſign being by no means relinquiſhed, the underſigned conceive, that if a ſtrengthening of that connection be deſirable as oppoſing an obſtacle to the ſucceſs of ſimilar attempts in future; no more proper period than the preſent could be choſen for introducing or diſcuſſing a meaſure which had this ſtrengthening of the connexion between the ſiſter countries for its object.

Fourthly, Becauſe it ſeems to the underſigned that the propoſed adjournment led to a calm deliberate diſcuſſion, without having any tendency to ſuppreſs the opinion of the Bar, upon the queſtion of an Union; and would, if adopted, have had the good effect of preventing the Bar from committing themſelves upon a queſtion, upon which they are at preſent not ſufficiently informed.

Fifthly, Becauſe the underſigned do imagine, that on ſo complicated and extenſive a queſtion as that of an Union, (on the advantages of which, ignorant as they are of the conditions on which it ſhall be propoſed, they expreſsly diſclaim pledging themſelves to any opinion), the public will be decided by a full and adequate diſcuſ-

ſion

ſion of its intereſts, and will not be dictated to upon ſuch a ſubject, by any deſcription of men, however reſpectable.

N. B. The names marked thus (*) *are of Barriſters who were not preſent at the Diviſion, but who agree in ſentiment with the minority.*

St. George Daly,
J. Jameſon,
*William Smith
Thomas Monſell,
C. K. Gamett,
*John White
*William Johnſon,
*Archibald Redford,
James M'Clelland,
*William Turner,
*John Schanles,
J. Homan,
*W. Norcott,
*Thomas Vickers,
Thomas Grady,
John Dwyer, Jun.
John Beresford,
R. G. Leſlie,
Thomas Scott,
P. F. Heuchy,
J. Keller,
Henry Brook,
Robert Torrens,
James Gerahty,
F. W. Forteſcue,
*Richard F. Sharkey,
J. D. Clarke,
Thomas Mongell,
Wm. Longfield,
J. W. Stokes,
John Ball, Jun.
Henry Cole,
*William Roper,

FINIS.

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AN

ADDRESS

ON THE

SUBJECT OF THE PROJECTED

UNION,

TO THE

ILLUSTRIOUS STEPHEN III.

KING OF DALKEY,

EMPEROR OF THE MUGGLINS,
ELECTOR AND ARCHTREASURER OF LAMBAY,
LORD PROTECTOR OF THE HOLY ISLAND OF MAGEE,
GRAND DUKE OF BULLOCK,
GRAND MASTER OF THE NOBLE, ILLUSTRIOUS, AND ANCIENT ORDERS OF THE LOBSTER, CRAB, SCOLLOP,
&c. &c.

BY

PATT. PINDAR.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

AND SOLD AT 60, STEPHEN-STEET.

1799.

[*Price a Britiſh Shilling.*]

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AN ADDRESS, &c.

OH! king of Dalkey, whoſe imperial ſway,
To every heart
Devoid of art,
Found out an eaſy way;
Haſt thou at length to Dalkey's Chiefs confeſt,
The long-revolving miſchief of thy breaſt?
Bethink thee, *Stephen*, the imperial crown
Which Dalkey *gave* thee, Dalkey may pull down!
Illuſtrious Dalkey! brave as free!
To a baſe Union never will agree,
With Stephen's native iſland of Magee.

Was it for theſe illegal offers,
That Dalkey's gold has fill'd thy coffers?
Was it for this we were ſo glad,
When you no more oſtenſibly were mad?
Was it for this we ſaid our prayers,
And ſung ſo many royal airs,

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By our high-prieſt commanded?
What time Count Baker's marble miſs'd you,
And all the naughty boys had hiſs'd you,
Before your carriage landed.*
Was it for this our fruitful land
Gave up her wealth to thy command,
And gloried in thy reign?
Was it for this the bells were rung?
Was it for this thy praiſe was ſung,
In true Pindaric ſtrain?
Was it for this our yeomen bled?
Was it for this your ſoldiers fed
Upon our children's bread,
And ſlept upon their only bed,
Becauſe king Stephen ſaid,
The rights of kings
Required thoſe otherwiſe enormous things?

But in return, would give a monarch's word,
Of ſure protection by his pow'r and ſword,
That he would keep our iſland free,
From Caledonia's miſery;
The nobleſt blood,
Of whoſe heroic blood,

Within

* Alluding to Stephen's happy eſcape, in the year 1796, from the marbles flung by a baker's boy.

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Within its channels froze;
When tyranny with pow'r elate,
Beheld her hapleſs ſtate,
And with a coward's joy,
That wiſhes to deſtroy,
On her majeſtic ruins roſe.
Oh! Caledonia, whoſe once happy ſwains,
In ev'ry grace and manlineſs excell'd,
And whoſe far ſweeter than Italian ſtrains,
With love, and liberty, and muſic ſwell'd.

UNION has made diſunion in that ſong,
Which erſt on freedom's pinions borne,
At cloſe of day, and break of morn,
O'er brae and buſh, and bloſſom'd thorn,
Big with delightful ſounds did float along.
Thy Peers were bought, thy Heroes ſold,
And Nature's rights transferr'd for gold,
That inauſpicious day,
When ſlavery came,
In union's name,
And with a baſe, inſidious ſmile,
Did many an honeſt heart beguile,
To ſign their glorious, long renown away.

But think not Stephen we'll permit
Our rights to fall in any Pit,
As other nations do:
Know, Stephen, know,
The weal or woe,

OF

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Of Dalkey's fruitful isle,
Depends not on the frown or smile
Of any miscreant upheld by you.
Indulgent heaven has given to Dalkey more,
In manly strength and nature's store,
Than blesses any other shore;
Luxuriant harvests crown her fields,
Fine linen in her bosom grows,
Her flocks and herds give meat and cloaths;
And every river, every stream,
Impressed with heaven's prolific beam,
Some rich, some exquisite provision yields.
Thus fed and fenc'd by nature's hand,
Shall Dalkey drag a slavish band,
Or Dalkey's chiefs betray their native land?
No, ancient Dalkey, brave as free,
To a base union never will agree,
With Stephen's native island of Magee.

Thrice royal Stephen, recollect
Thy coronation oath,
Has bound thee to protect
Thy parliament and people both.
Thy oath dissolv'd, our duty's void,
Nor shall the island be annoy'd
With evils we have borne so long,
We'll keep the rights our valour won,
Nor shall our children be undone;
Our rights we'll keep,
Nor longer sleep,
Lull'd by the music of a royal song.
Remember,

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Remember, Stephen, how for many years,
Your faithful citizens and noble peers,
Have kept your natal day,
With ceremony gay,
And hoiſt your ſtreamers on the ſwelling flood.
When thou, oh Stephen, ſat,
In royalty ſo cozey,
Attended by Lord Viſcount Poſey;
That little wicked miniſter of ſtate:
While all your people came like ſheep in flocks,
And climbing up the craggy rocks,
About the Royal Barge did preſs,
To view the glories of thy ſtate and dreſs.
But now no more,
The ſounding ſhore,
Re-echoes with thy name;
Nor Druid's ſong recites thy kingly fame:
For thy promiſe is broke—
Thy protection's a joke,
And thy glory is ſunk in the mud:
Thy birth-day may come,
Without trumpet or drum,
Or a peal from the bells of our ſteeple:
Your devices are weak,
And the Union *you* ſeek,
Has open'd the eyes of the people.

Thus

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Thus loſt to glory, and bereſt of friends,
Say, Stephen, is there no amends
Within thy pow'r to make;
Amends which Dalkey's chiefs may take,
As retribution for each heavy wrong,
Her patriot nobles have endured ſo long.

Yes, Stephen, yes, endeavour to regain
That love which marked the morning of thy reign;
Ere Dalkey's ſons had felt the galling chain,
Or murder ſtalk'd thro' Dalkey's fertile plain.
By one great effort teach us to forget
Thy paſt miſconduct, and the nation's debt;
But let not Poſey or the Queen,
Their tyrant meaſures intervene,
Nor all inglorious, muffle up thy head;
For, though they do not wiſh thee dead,
Leſt their own reign might ceaſe;
Yet have they kill'd thy better part,
They've killed the honeſt feelings of thy heart,
Thy natural love for ſubject and for ſon,
Thy grandſire's footſteps they have made thee ſhun,
They've ſtain'd thy honor, and have ſtabb'd
thy peace!

Oh! then, if poſſible, recover both,
Ev'n now, fulfil thy coronation oath,
And be the guardian of thy people's right;
Redeem the paſt, by giving them,
Who did thy ſubject's lives condemn,
To public cenſure, and conviction's light.

Bring

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Bring forth the noble Seaview from his cell,
Nor let the Dalkey annals tell,
That Seaview, generous, brave and true
To Dalkey's intereſt and to you,
Is thus, O! king, at thy beheſt,
Confined, inſulted, and oppreſt;
Was it for this in early arms he ſtood,
With many more to ſtem the flood;
The invaſive flood, which threatened to waſh down
Thyſelf and crown,
And in one general ruin drown,
Thy family and name.

Was it for dungeons, whips, and chains,
And all they now endure,
They fix'd thy throne on Dalkey's plains,
And bid thee reign ſecure.

Oh! fie! king Stephen! fie for ſhame!
Old as you are, redeem your fame,
And have it enter'd on the tow'r records
Of Mugglin and Magee,
That you have purg'd the Houſe of Lords,
And left the WOOLSACK free,
From the beggarly vermin,
Who wrap'd up in ermine,
Have cheated thy people and thee.
Do, Stephen, give that houſe a purge,
And give his fav'rite rope and ſcourge

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To ev'ry cowboy lord,
That void of mercy as of truth,
Dealt death and ſtripes to Dalkey's youth,
On an informer's word.
Let the pris'ners of ſtate be the pris'ners of hope,
While the ſcourge and the rope,
Take a natural ſcope,
'Mongſt the lords of corruptions promoting;
Who to bring in baſe union,
In baſer communion,
'Gainſt God, and their King, and their Country, are voting,

Diſmiſs Sir Hooffy Limp, that vulgar gawkey,
Whom Poſey made Lord Chancellor of Dalkey;

Reſtore the ancient freedom of the preſs,
Nor give your ſubjects leave to think,
That conſcious guilt has made you wink,
At all his black proceeding;
When fearful of the people reading
A letter to himſelf addreſt,
(In manner of the deathleſs Drapier,)
Wherein Sir Hooffy was ſo cloſely preſt,
With each mean meaſure, each abhorr'd exceſs;
Of fraud and cruelty within his breaſt,
That Alderman Shark,
Brought a gang in the dark,
With ſword and with fire,
At Hooffy's deſire,
To knock down the preſs, and to ſteal ev'ry paper.
Oh!

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Oh! king of the Iſles, we have cauſe to bemoan,
The day you ſet up that blackguard of our own,
Intolerant Poſey! to promote that wretch,
That low-born coward, EVER on the ſtretch
For ways and means to ſwell the flood,
Of Dalkey's griefs, with Dalkey's nobleſt blood!
But diſmiſſion will humble the petulant peer,
And a rope, *rather tight*, whiſper law to his ear;
Thy Chancellor, Dalkey, no longer we'll meet,
With oaths, and horſe-piſtols parading the ſtreet.

Oh! Stephen! Stephen! "'twas a ſorry fight!"
And bore ſtrong proof of guilt and of *affright!*
His blood-ſtain'd fancy, like the fam'd Macbeth,
Saw vengeance animate the injur'd throng,
He ſaw the patriot-priſoners break their bands,
While air-drawn daggers from a hundred hands,
To his black heart denounc'd deſpair and death!
And like a deſp'rate rat he pac'd along.

He knew the mighty miſchiefs he had done,
And all the dreadful courſes run,
To fool THEE Stephen, and defraud thy ſon;
Did he not bargain with that hopeful lad,
Lord Viſcount Poſey,
And with the Queen, who ne'er till THEN was noſey;
For compenſations villainouſly *even*,
To make of thee, Oh! royal Stephen!
A finiſh'd fool, when you were only mad!
And made you bite yourſelf—God bleſs the mark;
Then led you onward in the dark,

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While they fomented civil jars,
To levy moſt injurious wars;
Gave ſaucy anſwers to the French,
To put Sir Hooffy Limp upon the Bench;
And by ſo doing baniſh from our iſle,
Each heart-felt bleſſing that made labour ſmile!

Oh! then diſmiſs the wretch who ſtains
With tears our faces, and with blood our plains!
Diſmiſs the vip'rous SET—and ſhew,
That from their vicious councils flow,
The ſpring-tide of thy people's woe;
Let whipping-lords—with each a halter,
Be ſacrific'd on freedom's altar,
In vengeance for all their malicious free-booting,
Their hanging and burning, their whipping and ſhooting,
So ſhall the manes of the injur'd dead,
Who thro' their wily cruelties have bled,
Look down appeas'd on thy repentant head;
While Fate, propitious, ſhall reſtore thy pow'r,
And rain down pardon in a golden ſhow'r;

Again on Dalkey's plains bring forth,
The gallant Seaview, with atteſted worth;
Seaview, to whom kind nature did impart,
The cooleſt courage, with the warmeſt heart;
Seaview, in whom the brighter virtues blend,
Of ſoldier, citizen, and faithful friend;

Again

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Again let harmony herſelf rejoice,
In Rocky Seaton's tuneful voice ;
Again, Quebec, let thy effective face,
Where humour gambols with peculiar grace,
With uſual gaiety be ſeen,
On Dalkey's velvet green ;
As bearer of the royal ſword,
And grand conveyancer of Stephen's word ;
With the great patent for invention,
To Dalkey's humble BARD,
Who finds a Patriot's beſt reward,
In honorable mention.

Thus, Stephen, thus, reſume thy ſtate,
Again be gay, again be great,
'Midſt Dalkey's feſtive throng,
While from bondage releas'd,
They again crowd the feaſt,
And petition their king for a ſong.
A ſong which Apollo himſelf might deſire,
And add, for its ſake, a new ſtring to his lyre.
A ſong in which the Muſes join,
Inſpiring the Genius of Dalkey to twine
A flaxen wreathe, with grateful vows,
As a fit garland for the ſteady brows
Of Dalkey's SPEAKER, whoſe ſucceſsful aid,
Oppoſed falſe Union, and preſerv'd our trade.

Pat. Pindar.

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ODE,

PERFORMED AT THE CORONATION OF

STEPHEN III.

KING OF DALKEY,

I.

NOW let each ſcallop ſwell,
Within its loyal ſhell,
To greet the flowing tide,
On which doth ride,
So many pretty things,
The Peers of Dalkey and the very beſt of Kings.

II.

Happy iſland! free from guilt!
In which no ſubject's blood is ſpilt!
Free from knaves, and free from fools,
In which no proud plebeian rules!
In which no Rent-rack'd peaſants ſweat,
Beneath a Nation's *fizeleſs* debt!
In which our Nobles, are, *indeed*,
All of true Patrician breed!
Happieſt iſland of the main,
Free from ev'ry venal ſtain,
And triply bleſt in good King Stephen's reign!

While

While kings of iron heart,
Their ſavage will impart,
That ſubjects all
Both great and ſmall,
Should march away to ſlaughter,
Our gracious king employs
His time in harmleſs joys,
And on his natal day,
He comes to make his ſubjects gay,
In ſpite of wind and water.

III.

Then may no heavy rains,
Deſcend upon our plains,
Till all the weighty cares,
Of Dalkey's ſtate affairs,
Are ſettled to king Stephen's mind,
And all his truſty citizens have dined.
And may no envious cloud,
Our ceremonies ſhrowd,
That all around may flock,
As at the opening of the Dock,
When fiſh and fleſh ſtood gazing on,
While Camden laid,
The glitt'ring blade,
Acroſs the back,
Of dapper Jack,
And bid him riſe—Sir John.

Thus

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IV.

Thus ſhall the honours given,
By order of king Stephen,
Whether of Knights, or Dukes, or Lords,
Be entered on the low'r records,
Of Mugglin and Magee,
And thence from our own palace ſent,
At charge of our good government,
Gazetted they ſhall be:
And then 'tis eight to one but Captain Trollop,
Begs for the Noble Order of the Scallop.

V.

Thus on Dalkey's fertile plains,
The all-illuſtrious Stephen reigns;
And while the rocks and mountains ring,
The praiſes of a patriot king,
His ſubjects round him throng,
Not with petitions to redreſs,
The grievance of ſome new-made ceſs,
But with the charter of the land,
By which his ſubjects all demand,
King Stephen's fav'rite ſong.

ODE

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ODE II.

PERFORMED ON THE SAME OCCASION, IN THE YEAR 1797.

AGAIN the glorious ſun
His annual courſe has run,
To bring about this feſtive day,
Which recognizes Stephen's ſway.
Ever gracious, ever gay,
King of all thoſe happy iſles,
O'er which imperial Dalkey ſmiles
With brow ſerenely great;
While riſing from the wat'ry bed,
Which as a barrier round is ſpread,
The ſun lifts up his regal head,
With cloudleſs countenance, to view our ſtate.

Happy ſtate! where worth alone
Gains admiſſion to the throne;
Where our king's his people's choice,
And ſpeaks but thro' his people's voice;
Where election is the teſt
Of public virtue in the breaſt;
And where electors and elect
Their ſacred truſt alike reſpect.
(A Wolfe can't here miſrepreſent us,
Nor a clod-pole boy torment us;
Here in ſafety we'll lye down,
Nor dread the ſheerers of the crown;

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Here we feed in peace and quiet,
Food for neither war nor riot.)*

Hail, happy Dalkey! queen of iſles,
Where juſtice reigns in freedom's ſmiles.
In thee we realize th'Arcadian ſcene,
And dance on velvet of perpetual green.
In Dalkey, Juſtice holds her ſtate,
Unaided by one priſon gate:
No ſubjects of King Stephen's lye
In loathſome cells—they know not why.
Health, peace, and true humour, in muſic's ſoft ſtrains,
Invite and *unite us* on Dalkey's wide plains.

No flimſy ſheriff enters here—
No trading juſtice dare appear,
No ſoldier aſks his comrade, whether
The ſheriff yet has clean'd his feather?
Our ſoldiers HERE deſerve the luſty name,
Nor wear a feather they don't pluck from Fame.

Time-honour'd Dalkey! at thy ſilver ſpring,
The votive muſe preſumes to ſing
The guiltleſs greatneſs of thy State and King.

How much unlike thoſe wretched realms,
Where wicked ſtateſmen guide the helms.
Here, no firſt-rate merchants breaking—
Here, no firſt-rate veſſels taking—

Here

* The lines between parentheſis were omitted in Sir Peter Type's Edition.

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Here, no property is ſtaking—
Here, no ſhameful peace is making.
Here, we ſnatch no apt occaſion
On the pretext of invaſion.
Here, informers get no penſions,
To requite their foul inventions.
Here, no ſecret, dark committee,
Spreads corruption thro' the city.

No placemen or penſioners here are haranguing—
No ſoldiers are ſhooting—no ſailors are hanging;
No mutiny reigns in the army or fleet;
For our orders are juſt—our commanders diſcreet.
Our prince and our princeſs they both now are married,
And neither the one or the other miſcarry'd;
So let us in Dalkey, whatever betide,
Eſtabliſhments fitting their greatneſs, provide.

Hail! then hail this happy day,
That recognizes Stephen's ſway—
Ever gracious, ever gay.
Illuſtrious Stephen! hail to thee,
Whoſe virtues guard the ſacred tree
Of Heav'n-implanted liberty!

Hail! Stephen, hail! accept the crown;
Nor lay its golden glories down
Till avarice ſullies thy renown.

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Oh! never may ſo foul a gueſt,
Find harbourage in thy royal breaſt.
May no regard for ſheep or hog,
Transform King Stephen to King Log.

May ſacred Science ever ſhed
Her influence on king Stephen's head.
Long, long may his harmonious voice
His happy ſubjects hearts rejoice;
Whilſt round they throng
To claim the ſong,
The ſweetly, ſweetly warbled lay,
Which crowns the joy of this auſpicious day.

PATT. PINDAR takes this opportunity of diſavowing, in the moſt decided manner, any knowledge of that filthy production, called a SERMON, which was coupled, like other unnatural unions, with the above Ode.

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THE

RIGHTS

OF THE

IMPERIAL CROWN

OF

IRELAND

ASSERTED AND MAINTAINED,

AGAINST

EDWARD COOKE, Esq.

REPUTED AUTHOR OF A PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

"ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST AN UNION, &c."

IN A LETTER TO THAT GENTLEMAN.

By *GEORGE BARNES*, Esq.

LATE OF THE ROYAL NAVY,

AND NOW BARRISTER AT LAW.

"Nor pains nor death to guard our ſacred laws,
"But bravely periſh in our country's cauſe."

Prologue ſpoken by Prince, now King George, in the Year 1749, at Leiceſter-Houſe.

Belſham's 1ſt Vol. of Geo. III. *page* 7.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR W. GILBERT, 26, S. GREAT GEORGE'S-STREET.

1799.

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PREFACE.

READER,

I HERE preſent you with my humble ſentiments on a ſubject of the greateſt importance. The favourable manner in which the ſpeech I made at the Bar-meeting was received by that learned and reſpectable body, was certainly the impelling motive; but a ſenſe of public duty was the deciding principle, which has induced me to launch my Frigate of Patriotiſm into the Sea of Public Opinion. A Student in the canon and municipal law, I am determined my acquirements in both ſhall be at the ſervice of my Country, and exerting, as I ever will, whatever talents I poſſeſs at the Bar in defence of her liberties, if attacked in the courts by uſurped or illegal prerogative, ſo am I equally determined, if the moment ſhall make it neceſſary, to ſupport her rights, and with them the *juſt and acknowledged prerogatives* of the Iriſh Crown, by the knowledge I derive from the former law, in the field of martial

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martial glory. A ſeaman by profeſſion, I will ever be found

"True to my truſt when ſacred duty calls;"

and conſcious as I am, I ſhould be unworthy of the name I pride myſelf in, if I heſitated, where delay may be dangerous. I here, in the language of that glorious patriot, Lord Ruſſel, elegantly verſified by the father of the preſent Mr. Canning, declare, that theſe

"Are the fixed ſentiments, that rule my ſoul;
"*Time* cannot change, nor *tyranny* controul."

If any ſhould think, I have impertinently added to the large number of Pamphlets, which has already appeared on the ſubject of the Union, I beg them to remember, that, in times of danger, ſeamen do not content themſelves with paſſive courage; no, the naval poet will tell them, that

"Tho' their firm hearts no pageant honour boaſt,
"They ſcorn the wretch that *trembles* at his poſt:
"Who, from the face of danger ſtrives to turn,
"Indignant from the ſocial hour they ſpurn."

FALCONER.

N. B. That the correctneſs of my quotations may be the more eaſily aſcertained by the Public, I have preferred the editions of the books quoted, which are in the Dublin Library, Euſtace-ſtreet, to all others.

THE

"Ostendite Bellum, Pacem Habebitis.

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THE

RIGHTS

OF THE

IMPERIAL CROWN

OF

IRELAND,

ASSERTED AND MAINTAINED.

SIR,

BY your Pamphlet, entitled, "Arguments for and againſt an Union, &c." you have forced every queſtion relative to that important ſubject into diſcuſſion; you, therefore, Sir, are anſwerable for all the conſequences, whatever they may be, which ſhall attend the diſcuſſion of the queſtion of Union, at a moment when it is impoſſible the public mind can as yet have ſettled into the regions of good humour and good temper, after the unhappy diſturbances which have ſhook the country to its centre. You ſay "the queſtion is of ſuch extent and importance, and applies ſo warmly to all the feelings, prejudices, and paſſions of the human mind, that it cannot fail to be univerſally debated; the only fear is, that it will not be properly debated." When a propoſal is made by you to a great and generous nation, as wicked and as

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baſe

baſe in principle, as that of Sextus to the noble Lucretia, you expreſs your fears leſt the inſult ſhould be reſented by Roman, that is by Iriſh courage; yes, Sir, I truſt ſhould the folly and madneſs of Britiſh Miniſters, flushed with Naval greatneſs, acquired, however, by the aſſiſtance of Iriſh valour, impel them to attempt the enjoyment of a lawleſs embrace, that they ſhall find, that the chaſtity of the faireſt virgin that ever appeared in this ſublunary world, will be defended by brothers, who would willingly die in defence of her honour; yes! they ſhall find, that not only ten thouſand, but ten times ten thouſand ſwords, "ſhall leap from their ſcabbards to avenge the inſult, and learn to their coſt, that in the defence of virgin innocence, with Iriſhmen, "the age of chivalry is not gone."* Having expreſſed myſelf in the only language which I conceive fit for an honourable and ingenuous mind to ſpeak, when a propoſition of infamy is made to it, I will in the ſequel condeſcend to argue the "queſtion of terms," to prove to thoſe who can deign to calculate, when proſtitution is the price of ſuppoſed acquiſition, that if they can think as lightly of honour, as Falſtaff, they have no means of compelling the adulterer to keep his promiſe, and ſave the character of the lady, by a marriage; nay, even the ſettlement itſelf, being for an immoral conſideration, would not be enforced in any court; and ſtill more dreadful to tell, Sir, we ſhould in that caſe, be deprived of the chance derivable from honourable feelings in oppoſition to ſtrict law, as then there

* Burke's Reflec. on the French Revolution, 112,—13.

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there would be no Court competent to try the question of immorality. Nor can, nor will the justice of the opposition which, if necessary, I propose should eventually be made to a Union, be denied by any persons of the present day, who were members of the Bar, the Volunteers, that illustrious band, not made up of a *sect*, but of a nation, of Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Protestants, unrivalled in either ancient or modern history, forgetting their feuds, and in mutual love embracing each other; they united under the more glorious, more excellent, and truly Catholic names of Volunteers and Christians; they stepped forward, and, subordinate to the Irish senate, asserted the independence of the Irish monarch and nation, in opposition to a British legislature. This *great* and never-to-be-obliterated benefit, we owe to the prudence and magnanimity of that body of men, which, while there is an infant tongue to lisp their names, will be spoken of with veneration and gratitude; or the members of either House of Parliament; in the year 1782, all these bodies did then separately resolve, they would risk their lives and fortunes in defence of the independence of Ireland, at that period, when a Hussey Burgh, animated the Bar, a Sharman and a Brownlow led the patriotic band, a Yelverton and a Hartley in the Commons House, seconded the motions, and supported the principles of the father of Irish Freedom, from whence our increased trade, our improved agriculture, and our advancements in literature, and our extension in science, have arisen; and when the good Leinster, and the wise and virtuous Charlemont,

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mont, gave efficacy to the reſolves of the Commons, by their votes in the Upper Houſe of Parliament. Previous to my conſidering this ſcheme of yours, which propoſes "ſo much actual crime, againſt ſo much contingent advantage,"* I ſhall take the liberty of obſerving on that part of your pamphlet, which is in the nature of previous remarks. You ſay,† "let us firſt view the queſtion in the abſtract. Two independent ſtates, finding their ſeparate exiſtence mutually inconvenient, propoſe to form themſelves into one ſtate for their mutual benefit. Every independent ſociety or ſtate has a right, conſiſtent with its exiſting duties and obligations, to propoſe the means which appear moſt probable to the attainment of the happineſs of its people." The truth of theſe abſtract propoſitions, guarded by this proviſo, that in the exerciſe of this right, nothing is done, which may prevent poſterity having the full enjoyment of thoſe privileges which they derive from God and Nature, and not from ſociety,‡ I mean not to diſpute; but as moſt falſe concluſions are drawn, from theſe admitted premiſſes, and in the ſhape of arguments ſtrewed over the ſurface of your pamphlet, it ſhall be my buſineſs to enter into a philoſophical analyſis of theſe principles, and, I hope, by ſuch inveſtigation, I will be able to make a more patriotic

* Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution, 121.

† Page 2.

‡ The doctrine maintained by me reſpecting ſociety, is aſſerted by Blackſtone, vol. iv. page 85. "No Parliament can be abridged of *any* of its rights, by *any* precedent one."

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patriotic application of them. In this inquiry, the queſtion of the moral incompetency of Parliament to create this Revolution, ſhall be demonſtrated.

By the firſt poſition laid down in the paragraphs I have quoted, you have neceſſarily re-broached that doctrine, ſeparation, for the avowal of which, you have aſſiſted to puniſh certain perſons, union and ſeparation being neceſſarily correlative terms, it being impoſſible that any rational perſon, bona fide, intending to deviſe means for the removal of ſuch evils, as thoſe ariſing between two independent ſtates, occaſioned by their "ſeparate exiſtence proving mutually inconvenient," ſhould come to a deciſion on that point, without taking into his contemplation the advantages and diſadvantages attending a union, and a ſeparation, and then, and not before, decide on an impartial view of both ſituations for the *leſs* evil; he who decides without viewing the queſtion propoſed to him for his conſideration in every light it can be ſeen, decides upon ex parte evidence; and though it be *poſſible* for ſuch deciſions to be right, the probability is, they are wrong. This fair and candid ſtatement of what the queſtion of union neceſſarily involves, proves the good ſenſe of the reſolution moved by Mr. Saurin at the meeting of the Bar, and agreed to on a diviſion by 160 to 32, "That the preſent moment was not the ſeaſon to agitate ſuch a queſtion." But, Sir, no rational man will determine that, becauſe he ſuffers acknowledged evils, he is, to remove thoſe evils, to reſign the guidance of himſelf to the abſolute will of ano-

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ther

ther for ever, and without the moſt remote poſſibility of being ever again, ſui juris. At leaſt, Sir, if reaſon ever does ſo decide, it is after the moſt infallible certainty, that he neither can by his own good ſenſe better his preſent condition, nor by any other change, improve the advantages God and nature has given him. Have you then proved this is the ſituation of Ireland? have you ſhewn there is in the Iriſh Parliament ſuch a total inability to relieve the wants, to improve the advantages of this iſland, greater by the bounty of a kind Providence, than any in the world? you have not even attempted to bring any *proof*, though the libellous *aſſertion* has come from your pen, and though it is not my intention to proclaim the infallibility of the Iriſh Legiſlature, or to ſhut my eyes to its aberations from the cauſe of its country, and its apparent partiality to the mercantile intereſt of England, yet I cannot believe that if the ties of natural love are not ſufficiently ſtrong, to make the maternal parent diſcharge her duties to all her children, the beſt recipe for ſuch an evil, is a ſtep-mother: nor can I readily credit the flippant aſſertion which is made, that the merchant of Cork and Waterford will agree to withdraw his allegiance from that Parliament whoſe fiat authorized his veſſels to plow the Weſt Indian ſeas, and whoſe * mandate of compact with the Directors

* By the Iriſh Statute of the 33d of Geo. III. cap. 31. entitled, "An Act for Regulating the Trade of Ireland, to and from the Eaſt Indies, under certain Conditions, and Proviſions, for

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Directors of East Indian Commerce, has brought the ships of the India Company to one of these very

for a Time therein mentioned." The preamble of this Statute, the act of the independent, not the provincial Irish Legislature, after reciting the British act passed for granting a prolongation of the East India Company's Charter for *twenty-one* years, from the first of March 1794, goes on and states, And whereas the confirming by an act of the Legislature of this kingdom, the exclusive privileges of the said Company, upon the *terms* and subject to the several *limitations*, *provisions*, *regulations*, and *conditions* in and by *this* act *made*, *expressed*, *enacted* or *provided*, will conduce to the strength and wealth of the British empire, so essential to the advancement of the trade and prosperity of this kingdom; and it is therefore *expedient*, that the said *privileges* should be confirmed: It is therefore enacted by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, "Who alone could surrender the undoubted right of the Irish subject to trade to the East Indies, that so long as the subjects of this country enjoy the privileges reserved for them by this act, so long does the legislature of Imperial Ireland, allow to the British East India Company, the exclusive navigation of the Indian sea." By the 2d sect. of this act, the subjects of this kingdom are to export their goods to the East from the port of Cork. By the 7th sect. the India Company must provide 800 tons of shipping yearly for the Irish merchants, if they want them; and by the 8th sect. one of the Company's outward-bound ships is to touch at Cork between October and February every year. By the 9th sect. freight to be the same from Cork as from Great Britain. By the 10th sect. it is expressly provided, that if any cession of territory be obtained from the Chinese Government by said Company, the subjects of this kingdom may navigate with their ships in the Eastern seas, or on the coasts of Japan, Korea and China, on the same terms, and under the same restrictions as the subjects of Great Britain now do." What Irish merchant after reading

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very ports for the accommodation of the Irish merchant, an advantage which no Englishman enjoys on the long coast of England, west of the Thames,

reading this act, can say that for the enlarging his commercial connexions, it is necessary he should agree to the sacrifice of the independent Legislature of his country, let him from this rather learn this incontrovertible truth, that commerce is the *child*, not the *mother* of Liberty, and that he who sacrifices the *latter* in hopes of obtaining the former, will when too late find, that in parting with the security of his treasure, he parts with the treasure itself. Acquainted with the merchants of the capital, whose brother I am, as being free of their guild, I believe them to be incapable of lending their assistance to the annihilation of that national grandeur, which their former patriotic exertions so greatly contributed to promote, and in the continuance of which, they are so materially interested. Under any circumstances to consent to it, would be ignoble, but with such a positive parliamentary proof of the capability of an Irish Senate, to improve the natural advantages of this island for trade and commerce, would be to sell their "birthright for a mess of pottage." The act here quoted is the very consummation of Legislative Independence, every other act, compared with this, was a statute of assertions and just theories, but here theories have been reduced to practice, and assertions bottom in argument; yes, the British India Company which as such, had for upwards of a century traded to the East, without knowing of, or caring about an Irish Parliament, acknowledged its authority, in the year 1793, and to obtain the exclusive trade of the Indian seas, agreed that Irish subjects might trade to their possessions, on the conditions prescribed by an act of the Irish Legislature. Good Heavens! my beloved countrymen, surrender this, and every other imperial right, few years after their perfect recognition by those whose interests induced them, and whose power enabled them to give the most effectual opposition.

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Thames, and into two of the ports † of which iſland, thoſe ſhips do regularly ſail. Had you, Sir, before you undertook to preſcribe a remedy for the evils endured by the Iriſh nation, in conſequence of the kind of connection exiſting between her and England, ſearched, as was your bounden duty, the page of hiſtory, and ſeen what remedies the wiſdom of nations had approved of, you would then have found a more gentle, and more effectual preſcription in the Diſpenſary of Europe. You ſhould before you propoſed to Iriſhmen the annihilation of Iriſh independence, a Union, as the only means of having the *real* intereſts of the country attended to, have enquired whether there exiſted, in the Governments of Europe, two countries ſo connected as Ireland and England are; and if there be, whether to promote the *real* intereſts of the country repreſenting Ireland, it has been neceſſary for her, to ſurrender the rights which her inhabitants acquired in right of being the children of that Supreme Being "whoſe mercies are over all his works; and whoſe ſervice, is perfect freedom." If inquiry had furniſhed you with a caſe in point, you ſhould have conſulted the hiſtory of that country, and have learned to what it owed its riſe and progreſs; and learned as you are, you muſt know that ſimilar cauſes, will produce ſimilar effects. As I preſume, Sir, you are ignorant that there exiſts an example in Europe of a people connected with another nation, as independent Ireland is with Great Britain by

† Portſmouth always, Plymouth ſometimes.

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by the Executive Magistrate, preserving their rights and liberties, and with them, the *means* of advancing their *own* interests, in defiance of the *corrupt* ministers and their deputies, of the *greater* state, you will know by looking into the works of a gentleman, who with another person was exempted from the Royal Pardon offered to Rebels during the American war. This *kingly* Rebel has of late become a great favourite with his Majesty's Ministers, and therefore I presume his authority will not be denied by you. "The people of Biscay, says Mr. Adams, vol. 1st. p. 16.* while their neighbours have long since resigned all their pretensions into the hands of Kings and Priests, this extraordinary people have preserved their ancient language, genius, laws, government, and manners, without innovation, longer than any other nation of Europe. In consequence of their having united their country under the title of a Lordship, with Castile, by which convention the King of Spain is now Lord of Biscay. The capital of this country is Bilbao. The whole is a collection of very high and very steep mountains, rugged and rocky to such a degree, that a company of men posted on one of them, might defend itself as long as it could subsist, by rolling rocks on their enemies, active, vigilant, generous, brave, hardy, inclined to war and navigation, they have enjoyed, for two thousand years, the reputation of the best soldiers and sailors in Spain, and even of the best Courtiers. In 1632, the Court wishing, I suppose,

* Adams's H. of Rep.

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pose, to lay the *foundation of an incorparate* Union, laid a duty upon salt, the inhabitants of Bilbao rose, and massacred all the officers appointed to collect it, and all the officers of the Grand Admiral. Three thousand troops were sent to punish them for rebellion, these they fought and totally defeated, driving most of them into the sea, which discouraged them from pursuing their plan of taxation; and *since that time* the King has had no officer of any kind, in the Lordship, except his Corrigedor," that is, he has had no Government since that time in the country, composed of clerks from Madrid; but the Biscayans have been allowed to manage their *own* concerns, and to make the most of their natural advantages; nor does the King of Spain find they are less dutiful subjects to him, because they have resisted oppression, or because he regards them as his legitimate not his step children. He sees them under their native authority, a happy, a great, a dutiful, and a united people, and he receives, through the medium of his navy, his army, and his revenue, the fruits of this system, in the strength and prosperity arising from such a national Government. While under the pro-consular arrangement, he but reaped an ample harvest of slaughters, assassinations, and rebellions, we will hear the royal rebel, Adams, to this point, and we shall in his works see what this national government, this home government of King, Lords, and Commons has done.

"In riding through this little territory, you would fancy yourself in Connecticut, instead of miserable huts,

* Adams's H. of Rep. vol. iii. p. 18.

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huts, built of mud, and covered with ſtraw, you ſee the country full of large and commodious houſes and barns of the farmer, the lands well cultivated, and a wealthy happy yeomanry." What! can this be true? Popiſh Biſcay, reſemble Proteſtant Connecticut! Yes, in comfort, rival Proteſtant England. Some writers, ſays Mr. Adams, aſcribe their flouriſhing commerce to their ſituation, but that cannot be, he ſays; for as this is no better than that of Ferrol, or Gorunna, that advantage is *more probably* due to their liberty. This apoſtate ſon of freedom, would when he had principle, if ever he had any, have ſubſtituted the word *certainty* for probably. On pages 3 and 4, you endeavour to ſupport what you call abſtract reaſoning, and which, as I have not wholly anſwered, I am not done with yet; by what you call examples, and as thoſe may be termed practical reaſoning, in oppoſition to the other, you will permit me before I perform my promiſe as to the former, to refute the apparent ſtrength with which, as a military ſecretary, you have intrenched your abſtract arguments, by thoſe practical examples. It is a little extraordinary that you, Sir, an Engliſhman, defending Engliſh intereſts, ſhould in writing, make uſe of an Iriſh figure of rhetoric, called a blunder, (for as an example,) for the Iriſh uniting themſelves to England, you produce the diſunion, *i. e.* the ſeparation of the ſeven united Provinces from the Spaniſh government. This, however, may ſerve as a hint to Engliſhmen, not to ridicule their brother Paddy ſo much for his blunders, while they themſelves cannot avoid making bulls. This blunder of yours affords

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me an opportunity of making one or two reflections on the ſituation and conduct of the ſeven united Provinces, that may not be unworthy of attention in modern times. Hume in his Hiſtory informs us,* that the revolt of thoſe provinces was cauſed by the *tortures*, the cruelties, and the oppreſſions of Alva; who "finding at laſt the pernicious effects of his violent councils, ſolicited to be recalled." The *regular* government of Spain adminiſtered by Alva in the Low Countries produced their revolt, and the deſperate defence of Harlem, a defence, ſays Hume, "which nothing but the moſt conſuming famine could overcome," and which glorious reſiſtance of the *oppreſſion* of a regular government was revenged by the execution of more than 20,000 of the inhabitants. This extreme ſeverity, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by deſpair; and the vigorous reſiſtance made at Alkemaer, where Alva was finally repulſed, ſhewed that their inſolent enemies were not invincible. Requeſens, Commendator of Caſtile, was ſent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574, leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boaſting in his turn, that during the courſe of five years he had delivered above 18,000 of theſe rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner. You ſee, Sir, how religion can always be bandied about by politicians, and made the pretext for puniſhing what, in the eyes of the Alvas and Requeſens, in every clime, and every country, is the real and

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* Hume's H. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 516, &c.

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the only crime, the demand of equal civil privileges, without any regard to religious diſtinctions; this we find on the authority of Hume, was a crime, in a Proteſtant and an Orangeman in the ſeven united Provinces under the government of Alva, for all theſe heretics were the perſons who fought under the Prince of Orange, and on whom were the cruelties of Alva, and the tortures of Requeſens exerciſed, on Orangemen; ſo weak, ſo impolitic is it for any body of men to ſanction what they admit to be wrong, becauſe that they at the moment, from exiſting circumſtances, find themſelves exempted by power, from that extraordinary ſeverity of puniſhment which they keep *only* for their enemies. Ignorant indeed muſt ſuch men be of the changes and chances of this mortal life, who think any ſublunary ſituation is founded on a rock, againſt which in all the mutations of time, the waves of phyſical power ſhall ſtrike in vain. The juſtneſs and correctneſs of the above remarks I can prove by royal authority, in the language held by one of Seſoſtris's captive Kings, when tied to the chariot wheel of his royal brother, and conqueror; who in reply to a queſtion put by the monarch to his captive brother, which demanded of him a reaſon for looking back "on the wheel of the chariot with ſuch uncommon attention," replied, "the going round of this wheel, O King! recals to my mind the viciſſitudes of fortune, for as every part of the wheel is uppermoſt and lowermoſt by turns, ſo it is with men, who one day ſit on a throne, and on the next are reduced to the vileſt degree of ſlavery."* Theſe obſervations were not thrown away on the haughty

* Dobbs's Un. Hiſt. Vol. I.

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haughty Egyptian, and he no longer permitted such an unworthy treatment of the captive Prince." May all who read this, improve themselves as much by the relation here given of it, as Sesostris did by hearing. You will permit me to say, that these observations are far from being irrelevant to the question of Union, as, certain I am, the British Premier hopes that such are our internal hatreds and animosities, that he may seize the present moment to force it on the nation; my intention being to impress oblivion and forgiveness of all injuries on *all* sides of what has past, as a duty imposed on us by our mild and beneficent religion, and made politically necessary, by all the various self-interests of the kingdom, so numerous, as to make a national one; and to induce *all* my countrymen to adopt this kind of conduct universally, which alone is real magnanimity, and true policy. I have detailed the cruelties of the Low Countries at large, and made the just reflections on such conduct, to prove, that however little, interested, or vulgar minds, may think our misfortunes, and our cruelties have arisen from circumstances purely local, particular religious opinions, or from the Irish character, being incurably bad, as some have dared to say, they are the universal and inevitable effects of an ignorant poor, and a gentry, some of whom are more inclined to delight in the pleasures of the field and the table, than in enlarging and improving their minds, by the study of history, and by learning from thence, the causes which in former times produced disorders, either secure themselves from such evils by preventing the machinations which

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created them, or by political foreſight acquired by ſtudy, diminiſh, by well-timed alteration, the force of thoſe evils, they cannot avert. Your ſecond example is the Union of the Sabines with the Romans; if we recur to the hiſtory of that affair, we ſhall find that on examining the compact, three moſt ſtrong objections ariſe to the concluſion made by you from that Union. Hiſtory * informs us, that "Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the laſt, although the moſt formidable, who undertook to revenge the diſgrace his country had ſuffered. In the diſcharge of this patriotic duty, he had obtained poſſeſſion of the capitol of Rome, which enabled him to continue the war at pleaſure; at length, however, the tediouſneſs of this conteſt began to weary out both parties, ſo that each wiſhed, but neither would, ſue for a peace. At length, the hiſtorian tells us, they met in battle array, between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills; in the middle of this engagement, the Sabine women that had been carried away, flew in between the combatants, and by their tears and entreaties, procured that Union, which is now the ſubject of diſcuſſion."

The articles ſhall now be produced, and then the objections will be urged. By theſe articles it was agreed, "that Romulus and Tatius ſhould reign jointly in Rome *London*, with *equal* power and prerogative. That a hundred Sabines ſhould be admitted into the Senate. That the city ſhould retain its former name, but as a compenſation for this violation

* Goldſmith's H. of R. vol. i. pages 11, 12.

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lation of equality in the treaty, that the citizens ſhould be called Quirites, after Cures, the principal town of the Sabines, and that both nations being thus united, ſuch of the Sabines as choſe it, ſhould be admitted to live in, and enjoy all the privileges of citizens in Rome." Firſt, then, as to the treaty, it is a federal, and not an incorporate Union, preſerving by compact, all imperial independence, it is therefore, not a caſe in point, we find that Rome herſelf, at this time, had no more ſenators than one hundred, and by the federal articles, this Sabine *town* was to have as many, equal numbers then of ſenators, make a Union of Senates, not a ſubjection of legiſlatures, ſuch a Union of kingdoms is neither a ſurrender of national power, nor any acknowledgment on the part of the one, of ſuperiority in the other, but a joint determination of both, to protect their individual liberties by their collective ſtrength. In this act of the Sabines, they did not *change* the ſubſtance as is propoſed by you, but regulated the mode. But, Sir, with all the ſecurity paper could give the Sabines for their independence, this federal Union, by compact, became by the neceſſary influence of Imperial Rome, an incorporate one, and thus, furniſhes Ireland with an argument drawn from experience, of the abſurd folly of a nation, able as ſhe is, to defend herſelf by the ſtrength of her own ſons, to make parchment writings drawn by the ſubtle and apoſtate Mr. Pitt, the protectors of her liberties and her honour. While this conſequential incorporation ſtrengthens all I have advanced, it does not prove your poſition, the treaty *bona fide* propoſing federal,

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federal, not incorporate Union. Secondly, the phyſical Union of the Sabine city with Rome, creating "a neceſſity, not choſen, but chooſing," a circumſtance not applicable to Ireland and Great Britain, and which ſhall be enlarged upon, when the Scottiſh Union is conſidered; and at the ſame time, a liſt ſhall be given of the Scottiſh worthies who ſold their country for prompt payment, together with the price of their *patricidal* conduct, as a leſſon and a warning to my countrymen. Thirdly, one of the articles of this treaty might, under the exiſting circumſtances of the Sabines, as of the Scots, have been a great inducement to them to form this alliance, which is its proper name, and not Union; the article which ſtates "that both nations being thus united, ſuch of the Sabines as choſe it, ſhould be admitted to live in, and enjoy all the privileges of citizens in Rome."* The Union which this article propoſes, happily ſubſiſts at preſent between Great Britain and Ireland, to their mutual advantage, and long may this, but no other Union exiſt. You almoſt create a doubt in my mind, whether you be in earneſt with your propoſition, when as examples to convince Iriſhmen they cannot be degraded by the merging of their legiſlature, you ſtate "that a Mercian was not degraded by becoming an Engliſhman, &c." not to notice the inſult offered, by ſuppoſing that there is any parallel between the kingdom of Mercia, and this great nation, containing nearly 5,000,000 of people, and giving to the ſervice and defence of the empire,

* Goldſmith's H. of R. vol. i. p. 12.

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empire, a force, greater in number, than probably all the ſubjects of the Mercian monarch. I will meet you fairly on the ſubject, and tell you, that the true reaſon why the particular kingdoms of the Heptarchy did not ſuffer by merging in the Engliſh monarchy, was becauſe they carried equal political power into the ſenate of the nation; becauſe the votes of no one kingdom, if the members had been weak enough to ſet up a diſtinct intereſt, could have advanced its individual proſperity, at the expence of the nation; and this conſciouſneſs of inability, muſt have ſmothered the incipient thought; but will Ireland go into the Britiſh Legiſlature, with political power ſufficient to defend her againſt the attacks which may be made on her fiſhermen, for the great crime of catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford? againſt an addreſs to the king,* to ſuppreſs her Woollen Trade. No, Sir, 558 Britiſh members againſt the Iriſh repreſentatives, ſuppoſing them to be unanimous, will be too powerful to be overcome; nor will your aſſuring the Iriſh nation, that their intereſt ſhall be identified with the Britiſh, after the Union, remove their fears; they will anſwer you, by producing the innumerable Acts of the Engliſh Parliament

* In the year 1698 petitions were preſented to the Engliſh Parliament, ſtating a *ſingular* grievance ſuffered from Ireland, by the Iriſh catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford, and *ruining* petitioners markets. Engliſh Common Journal, vol. xii.

In this year, alſo, the Engliſh Lords and Commons addreſſed King William, to employ his influence in Ireland to "ſuppreſs the woollen manufactures therein," with which requeſt, this *equal* father of all his ſubjects complied.

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liament, paſſed to the injury of Iriſh intereſt, at the very moment that that Parliament preſumed to aſſert the right of binding this country by its power, and therefore, by aſſerting a parental authority, was in honour bound, to afford paternal kindneſs; ſure experience, the unerring guide in politics, which by ſhowing what has been, affords a datum for what is to be, denies the truth of your propoſition, "that Ireland, after the Union, will gradually riſe to the level of England."

The next of your practical arguments which I ſhall refute, is that drawn from the United States of America, (for I purpoſely reſerve that of Scotland, for the laſt of the practical arguments) the hiſtory of whoſe government and conſtitution, you have moſt groſsly miſrepreſented, with an intent to preſs it into your ſervice. Page 17, You ſay—"All writers have agreed in condemning what is called an *imperium in imperio*. Franklin and Waſhington, the founders of the American empire, had not courage in their firſt project of a conſtitution for the American States, to exclude this radical evil, but left each ſtate independent. The Americans projected a new conſtitution, in which this original vice was remedied; the *ſeparate* independency of each ſtate was wiſely relinquiſhed; a general legiſlative, and a general executive were formed for the government of the Union in every imperial concern; and each reſpective ſtate was confined to local and municipal objects." Sir, whenever any man voluntarily undertakes to inſtruct mankind from the hiſtoric page, he is bound to make known every circumſtance that can illuſtrate the principles he propoſes

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poſes to inculcate, from the examples he produces; he is not at liberty to ſtate examples which particular circumſtances, when known, will prove, that no ſimilarity exiſts between the things compared. To apply this abſtract poſition to your conduct in the account of the American Union, it will be neceſſary to ſhew the miſrepreſentations which muſt *ex neceſſitate rei* ariſe in the mind of every reader of your pamphlet, unacquainted with the nature of the American conſtitution; and this falſe gloſs receives the ſanction of him, of whom it has been truly ſaid;

"Eripuit cœlo fulmen, ſceptrumque tyrannis."

The American Union, be it known, Sir, is a federal, and not what you propoſe, an incorporate Union, and ſo the Congreſs call the conſtitution of the United States; and they have ordered a federal city to be built, to prevent Philadelphia (London) or any other ſtate capital, from acquiring too great an aſcendency in the government of the United States; and thereby, creating through its influence an incorporate Union. If you examine minutely, the duties impoſed by the conſtitution upon the Congreſs, in its legiſlative capacity, for the Union, you will find, that out of ſeventeen, eight of them do with us belong to the crown in right of its prerogative; *e. g.* coining money, declaring war, &c. and four of them include matters of prerogative and legiſlation. The nature then of American government being republican, it became neceſſary that in conſtructing the federal conſtitution, thoſe powers, which as relative to England and Ireland, might by a partial exertion on the part of the one or other, do general miſchief,

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or affect imperial intereſts, ſhould be committed to that body, which in the republic held prerogatives which in England and Ireland are exerciſed by the crown, as the centre of Union; and that, Sir, could only be the federal Congreſs, republicans not allowing to one man the right of involving a whole nation in a war at his own pleaſure; the ſame cautious and humane policy forbid that an individual ſtate ſhould blindly hurry the Union into a war. You will find, on conſulting ſection 2, article 1 of the federal conſtitution, that it is provided * "that every ſtate ſhall have one member in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and that any additional number ſhall be in proportion of one to 30,000 inhabitants; and by ſection 3, of ſaid article, the Senate of the United States ſhall be compoſed of *two* ſenators from *each* ſtate, choſen by the legiſlature thereof for ſix years: and each ſenator ſhall have one vote: by ſection 8, page 13, Congreſs is to provide for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia, and for governing ſuch part of them, as may be employed in the ſervice of the United States, *reſerving* to the ſtates *reſpectively*, (they are not *cooked* then by an incorporation as you aſſert) the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the diſcipline prescribed by Congreſs. To exerciſe *excluſive* legiſlation, in all caſes whatever, over ſuch diſtrict, not exceeding ten miles ſquare, (incorporate America, notwithſtanding your inſinuations and aſ-

ſertions,

* Federal, not incorporate conſtitution of America, printed for Debrett, 1795.

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ſertions, conſiſts of no more than ten miles ſquare; whilſt the federal, or, as you would wiſh to call it, the *imperium in imperio* America, extends over thouſands of miles) as may by *ceſſion* of particular ſtates, and the acceptance of Congreſs, become the ſeat of the Government of the United States." This correct ſtatement from an authentic document, I hope, has convinced you that America is no more a caſe in point, than the Sabines, both being federal, not incorporate Unions, and the American States, like the Governments of the Heptarchy, come into the general legiſlature on terms of political equality. Whatever difference of opinion, Sir, may exiſt reſpecting the Houſe of Repreſentatives, on account of the number of members increaſing in proportion to the population, none can by poſſibility ariſe reſpecting the Senate, for in that body it is, the States are repreſented, and that repreſentation which proves that they meet as States on equal terms, is the ſame throughout the federal Union. To this Legiſlative Aſſembly, is confined by the 2d ſect. of the 2d Article of the Conſtitution, the right with the Preſident and two-thirds of them approving, to make treaties, this power in particular, which they exerciſe conjointly with the Preſident, and many others which belong to them excluſively, form the unity and bond of government, in the producing of which, each being equally repreſented in the Senate, has equal power, and therefore can always defend itſelf againſt the ambition and intereſtedneſs of any particular State, ſhould it be urged to ſo unpatriotic an act, by its vanity or its pride.

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When General Washington, as you observe on page 18, addressed the people of America on offering the present Constitution to them, he said, "In all our deliberations upon this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our property, safety, perhaps our national existence." All these reasons, Sir, might have been very cogent with the States of America, but convincing however as they might be to an American, General Washington did not think them strong enough to ask an Incorporate Union on the strength of them; but, Sir, whether they were strong or weak as addressed to Americans, they avail not, when offered to Irishmen; we can defend, and have defended our property, preserved our safety, and national existence for 632 years, by a *connection*, not a Union with England. I no where read, Sir, in your long quotation from General Washington's letter, that he proposes to any State to surrender its dignity to Philadelphia; *London*, on the contrary: I find national honour is prized so high in America, that no State would yield precedence to the other, and therefore Congress have allotted ten square miles, taking in a part of every State, for the federal Government, and entitled it not Pensylvania, or New-York, but United States. In regard to the Test Laws and religious establishments you speak of, on page 16, as being in the United States, no such things exist, unless an acknowledgment of the Supreme Being, be called one; in the pledge given by the President of

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the United States, it is worded, so as to suit either the man who will take an oath, or him who will only affirm. In America, I can assure you, Sir,

"No Test Act, there, with pious rancour reigns.
"No bloated Priests count godliness by gain,
"While starving Curates supplicate in vain.
"As *all* religions with one voice agree
"To preach *good* morals, every sect is free."

I have met you fairly in argument on some of the cases brought by you to prove the propriety of an Incorporate Union, and I trust, without vanity, exposed their fallacy, and proved they were irrelevant. I will now shew you that if I had preferred precedent to reason, and the weight of a great name, to argument, that I could have overthrown your assertion by authority. This memorable treaty, (the Scotch Union) the *first* of the kind recorded * in history, "for there never was at any time or in any place an example of two Sovereign kingdoms *incorporating* themselves in such a manner." These are the words of Lord Halifax, in a letter addressed to the Court of Hanover, on this welcome and interesting occasion. I will now, Sir, with your permission, discuss the question of the Scottish Union; and when I look back and consider the manner in which that measure was carried into effect, as well by the Scottish, as the English Ministry, language cannot sufficiently express my feelings, in reading of conduct so base and treacherous, so mean and arbitrary; this treaty, which we are told was for the *benefit*

* Belsh. 239.

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benefit of both countries, was debated in private by the consent of the Commissioners of both kingdoms, and * "The day on which the Articles of the Scottish Union were presented by the respective Commissioners to Queen Anne, she dictated an Order of Council, that whoever should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the Union, should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law. Since the creation of the world, has there appeared more unfair dealing in any business in which the interests of a nation were concerned, than this? What, Sir, a measure proposed, which I am told is to render me great service, and yet I must not discuss it! If the arch-angel, Michael, were to be the bearer of such a message, I would not believe him, but reply, "Begone, thou fiend, to the habitations of the spirits damned; for that alone can be the place of thy nativity;" 'tis only fraud and superstition that require the aid of power, good faith and honour seek no such ally. But I will, for the present, suppose, that the Scottish Union was conducted on the principles of honour, and then see whether any or all the reasons which might have induced an honest, though not a magnanimous Scot, to have agreed to the Union, do or do not apply to Ireland; because if they do not, Scotland, the *only* instance in the world of an Incorporate Union, is not a case in point.

First. Scotland wanted that great palladium of a people's liberty, the Habeas Corpus act, and which England enjoyed, together with more equal laws generally,

* Smoll. 2 vol. p. 76.

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generally, and greater protection which the inhabitants of that country received, by its having earlier emancipated itſelf from the feudality of the north.

Secondly. The danger of having a different Sovereign on the death of Queen Anne, from that of England, and the poſſible conſequence of not only the whole kingdom being obliged frequently to draw itſelf from the arts of peace, to maintain their right in the field to exerciſe theſe arts, and the certainty, by the experience of ages, that a country ſo conterminous to a richer and more populous nation, like England, muſt ever expect to have its frontiers ravaged and depopulated by an invading foe; Nature, and Nature's God, have been in this, as in every thing elſe, the guardians and defenders of Ireland.

Thirdly. A reaſon that flows from the former, as a corollary, the phyſical union of the *two* countries, in *one* iſland.

Fourthly. The impoſſibility of trading either to England, the Plantations, or the Eaſt Indies, without a Union, and the *certainty* of trading with it.

Fifthly. As a corollary flowing from the laſt ſtated reaſon, the deſire increaſed, and the neceſſity made more urgent, by the failure of the Darien Company, and which, added to the honeſt, though not magnanimous Scot, as I have termed him, a company of bankrupts, ready to ſell the independence of their country, to repair their ſhattered fortunes. That theſe perſons were greatly influenced by the commercial advantages which they were ſure of *reaping* by it, and could not *gather* without it,

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I ſtate on the authority of an Engliſh hiſtorian,* who has diſgraced his name and country, by uſing the word honourable, when ſpeaking of a diſhonourable and inglorious action; his words are, "Alſo thoſe who had engaged far into the deſign of the Darien Company, and were great loſers by it, ſaw now an honourable way to be reimburſed; which made them wiſh well to the Union and promote it."

Sixthly. The Scotch had no naval protection for their partial commerce, and therefore a Union to them, with a country whoſe fleet was ſuperior to that of the world, became a reaſon with the wiſe part of the community for acceding to it, and an object to all.

Seventhly. Although the Scotch in agreeing to the Union ſacrificed national glory, yet they obtained all the poſitive advantages here enumerated by the very act of ſigning the deed of Union, and took their chance for the contingent advantages of Engliſh capital, and that farago of nonſenſe, with which the advocates of an incorporate Union ſtun our ears in every company.

Eighthly. The danger at *that* time of the Pretender re-aſſerting his claim to the Throne of Scotland, which would have been greatly ſtrengthened by the death of Queen Anne, if no ſucceſſor had been named previous to her death.

Ninthly. The Scotch were conſidered as aliens in England, and had the ſtatute by which they were deemed aliens repealed; I do admit before the Union, but

* Tindal, 3d vol. p. 511.

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but certainly the Engliſh Parliament conſidered the ſigning of the treaty, as the purchaſe money of that repeal. Now the Iriſh are not aliens in England, and by the oppoſition the Britiſh Miniſter ever gives to the paſſing of an abſentee tax in this country, it is not very likely they ever will be declared aliens; the Engliſh nation knows the value of money too well, to alienize two millions ſterling. Now, Sir, I defy you, with all your ſagacity, to point out any one of the nine reaſons here aſſigned for the Scottiſh Union, applying to the incorporate Union of Ireland. We are not, as they were, without a Habeas Corpus act; and though ſome men of high naval rank have dared, in particular inſtances, to convert this firſt of bleſſings into an engine of oppreſſion, by making *falſe* returns to writs, yet thoſe who have witneſſed the judicial dignity of the Court of King's Bench laſt term, when only a *ſuggeſtion* of ſuch a conduct was made at the Bar, are in no great apprehenſion that a conduct, which is as unbecoming of the gentleman, as it is derogatory to the naval rank of him who has practiſed it, will ever be renewed. This conduct, with the no leſs conſtitutional enforcement of obedience to a writ iſſued by that court, to bring up the body of the late Mr. Tone, but to which obedience at firſt was refuſed, are the beſt and ſtrongeſt refutation I can give of your libellous and daring aſſertions reſpecting the Judges, of the land, in your attack on the Bar, pages 34 and 35. That court enables me to ſhew you three Judges, every one of whom made the Houſe of Commons the veſtibulum to the Bench; yet, on theſe important occaſions, they neither mani-

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feſted

feſted an ignorance of the laws, not a want of judicial firmneſs; and the ſecond Judge of that court, with Mr. Baron George, are proofs that profeſſional knowledge and an honourable diſcharge of the duties of ſubordinate ſituations do not make a ſeat in Parliament the "one thing needful," to ſitting on the Iriſh Bench; forced as I am, to give a candid opinion of the Iriſh Bench, as compared with the Engliſh, I will not heſitate to pronounce what at any other time, and on any other occaſion, might be conſidered abject ſervility, a character which I have no heſitation in ſaying will never be imputed to me, by thoſe who know me, that I do, in the face of my Country, and in the preſence of the Supreme Being, declare it as my opinion, that the abilities and talents of the Judges of the two countries, fairly and impartially conſidered, are at this moment on a *perfect* equality. Before I return to the Scotch queſtion, I will ſay, and ſtake my profeſſional character as a lawyer with the Bar, and my Country, that no pamphlet has been written by any convicted libeller within the laſt two years, on whom the vengeance of the law has fallen, ſo libellous, and ſo treaſonable, as that which public rumour has given to you; and there was a period in Iriſh hiſtory, and that within my memory, when an Attorney General would not have thought he diſcharged his duty to the Country, if he had not indicted the author for high treaſon, unleſs the patriotiſm of the Houſe of Commons had preferred an impeachment, as a puniſhment better adopted to meet the different degrees of crime, with which this pamphlet abounds. If the author of this pamphlet, be

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he

he who he may, is not puniſhed, I will then indeed believe, what he has laboured ſo anxiouſly to prove, that Iriſh intereſt is ſacrificed to Engliſh, and will ſay with the poet,

——————" Plate ſin with gold,
" And the ſtrong lance of juſtice hurtleſs breaks;
" Arm it with rags, a pigmy ſtraw doth pierce it."

Given, as I ever have been, and ever ſhall be, to find fault with the conduct of public officers, if I ſee reaſon for it; I never have, nor will I ever in condemning the man, or the particular meaſure which calls in my mind for reprobation, endeavour, as you have, to excite in the public mind an abhorrence of the conſtituted authorities of the ſtate, where I either reſide, or occaſionally live in; and let the world from the difference, not only of our ſentiments, but our conduct on this occaſion, learn it is neither the lover of reform and democracy who wiſhes to deſtroy all veneration for antient inſtitutions, and national government, however anxious he may be to give them a direction more ſuitable to their original creation, but, the idolizer of tyranny, and the advocate of national humiliation. But, Sir, to return to the firſt of nine reaſons which might have influenced an honeſt Scot at the time of the Union: you will pleaſe to remember, that the latter part of that reaſon, mentions, that the laws of England were more equal than thoſe of Scotland, and the ſubjects found more protection from the law in the former, than the latter, a *glorious* ſuperiority,

" Which man to ſpeak, and angels joy to tell,"

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would

would that this were always, would that it were her only ambition, then indeed would her very enemies rejoice in being vanquiſhed by her. Let Iriſhmen, let modern Britons, be inſtructed by this Scottiſh reaſon for ſurrendering national glory, "better protection! more equal laws!" modern theory, proved by antient practice. This latter part of the firſt Scottiſh reaſon, however right it may be to pervade our minds, and influence our practice, is not in *point* of law, true; and although ſome may imagine that the violence which for a ſeaſon, diſgraced certain bodies of Iriſhmen, invalidates this reaſoning, I contend it does not, and anſwer them in the words of Zamti:

> ——Tho' ruffian pow'r
> May for a while ſuppreſs all ſacred order,
> And trample on the rights of man; the ſoul,
> Which gave our legiſlation life and vigour,
> "Shall ſtill ſubſiſt above the tyrant's reach.
> —"The *ſpirit* of the laws can never die."*

The ſecond reaſon reſpecting the danger of a different Sovereign has no exiſtence; and becauſe, no ſuch danger does exiſt, your aſſertion, page 11, "that Ireland ſtands at preſent in the ſame ſituation as Scotland did before the Union," is not true in fact; but the danger of not continuing to have the ſame Sovereign, might well affect the good, and wiſe, in both countries, who by anticipation figured to themſelves the future ſlaughter and deva[illegible] which might by poſſibility ariſe from the ambition of neighbouring Sovereigns,

* Second Act of the Orphan of China, by Arthur Murphy, Eſq.

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Sovereigns, whoſe territories, and whoſe boundaries were not meted and fenced by a St. George's channel. The ſtatutes of declaration and recognition, do, by joining the two crowns in the natural perſon of the Engliſh Sovereign, place in his hands by prerogative, thoſe powers which alone can endanger the ſecurity of conterminous ſtates, the *powers* of peace and war, and thereby diſſipate in the minds of the people of England, thoſe fears which they entertained reſpecting the dubious Scottiſh ſucceſſion. And as to your attack on the independent legiſlature of Ireland, page 13, for their conduct at the time of the Regency, which received the approbation of the whole people of Ireland; I anſwer, that firſt, you are an Engliſhman, and therefore no judge of the duties, nor an advocate of the rights of an Iriſh legiſlature; and ſecondly, Sir, I refer you to the Journals of that Houſe, of which you are a member, for the cenſure paſſed on thoſe, who, like you, preſume to arraign a proceeding, ſo conformably to the only caſe at all analogous in hiſtory, the appointment by addreſs of the Prince of Orange, at the Revolution. Proceedings, more legal, more parliamentary, or more conſtitutional, never were reſolved on in any parliament, than thoſe on the Regency, which, notwithſtanding your original diſapprobation of them, have received the ſanction of the preſent keeper of the King's Engliſh conſcience, one of the Secretaries of State, and other members of the preſent Britiſh Cabinet. But what is of much more conſequence, it has been ſanctioned by the approbation of him, who is moſt materially intereſted in the propriety of the meaſure, the Prince of Wales.

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Paſſing over the third, fourth, and fifth reaſons, Sir, for the Scotch aſſenting to the Union, as not requiring any comment, carrying in themſelves ſufficient proof of their non-application to Ireland, I ſhall make an obſervation on the ſixth, for the ſake of remarking on your aſſertions, page 50, reſpecting the defence of Ireland, as inſultingly, as incorrectly ſtated. The ſixth, ſtates the Scotch to have had no navy for the protection of her trade, and ſo you ſay of Ireland; this propoſition I deny upon the authority of one, whoſe memory is reſpected for the exertions he made in the cauſe of Ireland in the year 1782; I mean the late Henry Flood, who ſpeaking on the Commercial Propoſitions in 1785, to this very ſubject,* he ſaid "above a hundred years ago, in the fever of the reſtoration, and in the infatuation of this kingdom, Ireland had made a perpetual grant for the ſupport of an Iriſh marine. This, England never permitted to be applied. Why? Becauſe ſhe wiſhed that Ireland ſhould have no marine; becauſe ſhe wiſhed to have a monopoly of navy to herſelf—for what purpoſe, let her ſubſequent conduct to Ireland explain. What follows? Engliſh Miniſters in *ſpite* of law, *diſappropriated* this fund, and applied it to an *overgrown* land army, *rather* than to a marine. The *defence* of *this* land army Britain had, and Ireland had the *burden*. With what grace could Britain, with what grace can Mr. Cooke after this, come to Ireland, and ſay, you do not ſupport a marine; when Britain herſelf prevented Ireland from doing ſo? When a monopoly of navy was the choice of Britain; what

* Woodfall's Debate, p. 89.

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what right had ſhe to ſay, that Ireland ought to pay Britain, for her having her own choice? When Britiſh Miniſters, contrary to legal appropriation, had applied the marine fund of Ireland to a land army, for the convenience of Britain, what right had they to come to Ireland to demand a new marine fund; and that, not for an Iriſh marine, but for the Britiſh navy." I think it will be generally admitted, that the ſluice I have drawn up, has let in ſuch waves of argument, as have drowned you in the flood. Permit me now, Sir, to aſſign another reaſon, why we are entitled to the protection of the navy, not of England, but the empire, and which is doubly ſtrong, becauſe it will prove, that it is not in the power of the Britiſh Miniſter to take it from us; Great Britain could not, without the natives of this country, man ſuch a fleet as that under Lord Howe, on the glorious firſt of June, and carry on her commerce: in that very fleet there was a ſhip, the Invincible, not the leaſt diſtinguiſhed on that memorable day, commanded by our countryman, Capt. Packenham, manned, as I have ſome reaſon to believe, with none but Iriſhmen; upon the whole, I do, from actual knowledge, as far I can pretend to ſpeak, without having ever counted numbers, declare it as my opinion, that the Britiſh navy, including the officers and privates of the marine corps, does *communibus annis*, owe half its ſtrength to the people of this kingdom; yet my ears have been frequently aſſailed by declarations of Engliſh officers, that they would have no more Iriſhmen on board their ſhips than mainmaſts. To myſelf, Captain Milliken, who com-

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manded

manded the Dunkirk at Plymouth in 1782, ſaid, on ſeeing two or three very fine Portugueſe on the quarter-deck, I would rather have thoſe men, than ten of your damned infernal countrymen; national feelings were ſuperior to perſonal ſafety, and I replied, "If you were any where elſe but here, you dare not ſay it." He was too old to be affronted by a boy, and my years ſaved me from the puniſhment which I had incurred under the articles of war. Such is the contumely with which Ireland and Iriſhmen have always been treated by England and Engliſhmen. Convicted on this head you now are, Sir, of ignorance, or miſrepreſentation, and I give you your choice; if the former, you prove your utter incapability to inſtruct the nation on a ſubject, which includes every thing that is dear to man, being *inops conſilii* on ſome eſſential points, the rightly underſtanding of which, are eſſentially neceſſary to the forming a grave opinion, on ſo momentous a queſtion; if the latter, then have we proof poſitive, you will ſacrifice truth, and Iriſh honour, to the intereſts of what you deem "your better country." Your aſſertions, reſpecting the military force, are, if poſſible, more inſulting, and equally void of all foundation; indeed, Sir, your memory on this ſubject, ſeems to be formed after the faſhion of your prototype, Mr. Pitt, at the Old Bailey, on the trial of Mr. Tooke, where I witneſſed his "remembering to forget" every circumſtance attending the moſt material act of his life; yes, that very act, to which he now owes his elevation; every faculty of my mind muſt be annihilated, before I can

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can believe ſuch a thing poſſible. You, Sir, who have been ſo long a military ſecretary, and attended the paſſing of the mutiny act ſo frequently in the Houſe of Commons; you who have been for more than twenty years about the Caſtle, in ſome ſhape or other, not know the compact entered into by this country, during the vicegerency of the Marquis Townſhend, for the raiſing and paying 15,000 men, 12,000 of whom were to be at *all* times in this kingdom, and of the repeated violations of that compact! Search, Sir, the journals of the Houſe in which you ſit, and you will find, that the military returns for the year 1777, ſtate but 3,000 men to be in the kingdom; though, by ſacred faith plighted, the country was never to be without 12,000, the ſurplus having been raiſed for the expreſs purpoſe of accommodating Great Britain, that being the *quota* agreed upon by the cabinets of the two countries, to be ſent by this kingdom, to the army of the empire. And where, Sir, were the 11,000 men ſent from this country? I will tell you, in the language of Mr. Pitt, when in one of his inſane fits of liberty, on his firſt entering the Houſe of Commons of Great Britain, he told that houſe, "the army of the empire was mouldering away by ſickneſs in America, or *only* obtaining victories over our brethren there, fighting in the *holy* cauſe of liberty." Yes, Sir, to America they were ſent, to prevent the eſtabliſhing of that conſtitution you have ſo miſrepreſented. Can you, Sir, forget, that in the following year, 1778, when the ſovereign of Belfaſt wrote to Government for a military force

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to protect that town from ſome French privateers, that the Lord Lieutenant could ſend no greater force than a diſmounted troop of horſe, and a company of invalids? Do you forget, that about this time, Great Britain, whom you ſay protects us, did tell us then, we muſt *protect* ourſelves, notwithſtanding we paid 12,000 men for that purpoſe? and Great Britain, in violation of compact, took them to aid her, in her war againſt freedom, declared to be ſo by the infallible authority of Mr. Pitt; but in fighting againſt liberty, the Iriſh arm was unnerved, and that it may ever be ſo, "God, of his infinite mercy, grant." And did we then manifeſt an inability to afford ourſelves protection! No, Sir, that patriotic band, the Iriſh Volunteers, protected Ireland free of *national* expence, while her army, paid for that very purpoſe, fought the battles of Britain. Yes, Sir, that body of men, from "whoſe merit," you ſay, on page 43, "you do not mean to detract," though on page 48, you dare, in a covered way, to traduce their memory, by inſinuating that they have done ſomething which they ought not to have done. Sir, no man applies the phraſe "took advantage," to an honourable tranſaction; it is only when we ſpeak of ſomething baſe, we uſe it, not when we have obtained redreſs by an application to the law; and I would have you to know, that the ſame right, which the law of the land gives to an individual, to avoid a deed, ſigned by him in confinement, or by compulſion, Nature, and Nature's God has given to nations; and the Volunteers in declaring the deed by which the legiſlative rights of Ireland had been

transferred

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transferred to Great Britain to be void, the ſame having been obtained by force, fraud and covin, acted as the ſons of *him*, who wills the freedom of all *his* creatures, protected by *his* power, animated by *his* ſpirit; and relying on the juſtice of our cauſe, if Great Britain will make uſe of her 40,000 ſharp arguments, to convince us we ought to dethrone the king of Ireland, we will dare to meet her in ſupport of *his* crown, and we ſhould doubt the exiſtence of a Providence, if we doubted of ſucceſs."* Sir, a malignant fever raged in your veins, and thoſe of ſome you are intimate with, at the inſtitution of the Volunteers; and, though acting under its influence, from that day to this, none of you have ever dared openly to condemn them; yet you have ſecretly aſperſed them, neither will you ever forgive them the original ſin, of eſtabliſhing the independence of the Iriſh Legiſlature; you, Sir, would prefer being a clerk in a provincial regiſtering aſſembly to the Britiſh Parliament, rather than a member of a national legiſlature. On this ſubject of Ireland being protected by England, I would proclaim it to the world, that her Volunteers protected her in the year 1781; when the pride of Britain, commanded by Sir Charles Hardy, fled up the Engliſh channel, before the combined fleets of France and Spain. You ſeem, Sir, to have forgotten, what, as military ſecretary, you could not but have known, that Mr. Pitt, during the Weſtmoreland Adminiſtration, ſtripped

* Addreſs of the Dungannon Convention in 1782, to the minority of both Houſes of Parliament.

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ſtripped this kingdom of its troops, in violation of the compact recited, to ſend them, I ſuppoſe, to fight "in *his* holy cauſe of liberty;" ſhort as his memory is, yours indeed muſt be ſhorter, if you have already forgotten, that in your place, in the ſenate, you oppoſed a motion, made by Sir Laurence Parſons, on this ſubject. Thus, Sir, have I endeavoured to refute your aſſertions, page 50, reſpecting the protection afforded by England, ſtated in language, the moſt inſulting, and which, not being founded in fact, adds injury to inſult; conduct ſuch as this, is well detailed by the royal pſalmiſt. * "For it was not an enemy that reproached me; then I could have borne it: neither was it he that hated me; but it was thou, a man, my equal." I truſt Sir, my countrymen of all ranks and deſcriptions, of all ages and religions, will make the juſt improvement of this paragraph, with which you have favoured them, that they will from it practice, as men, the moral of that leſſon which they learned as children — "the bundle of ſticks;" that they will adjuſt their differences, and, above all, remember that, by whatever creed they worſhip, they are not the diſciples of him, whoſe religion they profeſs to be of, if they do not forgive each other. Yes, my Countrymen, by whatever particular name you are known, by

——— "Whatever title pleaſe thine ear,
"Dean, Drapier, Bickerſtaff or Gulliver."

let us remember that if we are, what we ſtile ourſelves, Chriſtians, it is our duty as ſuch, and our

* 55th Pſalm, 12—13.

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our intereſt as a nation, to fulfil the goſpel precept, " of loving one another, as our Lord loved us."† We are, in conſequence of our mutual bickerings, and railings, about to have our national honour, our national independence aſſailed; and with it, all thoſe advantages, which ſo abundantly follow in the train of commerce, unſhackled by the partial laws of a foreign legiſlature, preventing a people, who, for 632 years, had unceaſingly ſhewn by acts, that ſpoke trumpet tongue, an intereſt diſtinct from this country, which makes it idle to ſuppoſe, that a principle now worked into habit and prejudice by time, and ſanctioned by antiquity, ſhould be ſuddenly laid aſide. It is incumbent on the advocates for a Union, to ſhew that England has hitherto in her tranſactions with this country acted with Roman faith; I will, in the ſequel, prove ſhe has with Punic; for the preſent we will hear Mr. Pitt on the policy obſerved by Britain, from the Revolution to 1779, as ſtated by him in his ſpeech, February 22d, 1785, on introducing the Propoſitions paſſed by this country, into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, where they were converted into *the* twenty reſolutions that contained the *degrading fourth* Propoſition, which, though only to make a *partial* ſurrender of national dignity, damned them with my brave and generous countrymen. " * The Houſe," he ſaid, " would recollect that, from the Revolution (a ſufficiently long time to prove to us the principles they were actuated by, and the *juſtice* that influenced thoſe principles) to a period within the memory of every man who heard

† St. John, 15th chapter, 12th verſe.

* 17th Vol. Parl. Reg. 249.

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heard him, indeed until theſe very few years, the *ſyſtem* had been that of *debarring* Ireland from the *enjoyment and uſe of her reſources*; *to make the kingdom* completely *ſubſervient* to *the intereſts and opulence of this* country, without *ſuffering* her to *ſhare* in the *bounties* of nature, in the induſtry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general intereſts and ſtrength of the empire." You have Mr. Pitt's authority for two things; firſt, that "*the general intereſts and ſtrength of the empire*, can be promoted without the *annihilation* of the Iriſh Legiſlature; and ſecondly, that by the Engliſh *ſyſtem*, Ireland was "*debarred from the enjoyment and uſe of her own reſources*;" and this, for what? The ſame Right Hon. Gentleman will tell us, "*to make* Ireland *completely ſubſervient to* England." A country, acting in ſuch a manner for nearly a century, offers good moral ſecurity, for continuing a *commercial* equality with another country, when ſhe ſtipulates her own legiſlature, teſſelated with a few ſenators, from what ſhe will deem the provincial one, ſhall be the judge of that equality. What, my countrymen, ſubverted this ſyſtem, detailed by Mr. Pitt?-Britiſh juſtice? No! the Volunteer Inſtitution, the Parliament of Ireland, "they ſpoke, and it was done; they commanded, and it fell." My higheſt ambition is to animate you to tread in their legal, glorious, and conſtitutional ſteps; like them, let patriotiſm form an indiſſoluble bond of friendſhip between diſcordant ſects; like them, reverence and reſpect the laws; and like them, *ſwear* you will *pay* no obedience to any power on earth, but the King, Lords, and

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and Commons of Ireland; by ſuch a conduct as this, we need not fear to meet the aſſailants of national dignity.

" I own the *glorious ſubject* fires my breaſt,
" And my ſoul's darling paſſion ſtands confeſs'd;
" Beyond or *love's* or friendſhip's ſacred band,
" Beyond *myſelf* I prize my native land;
" On this foundation would I build my fame,
" And emulate the Greek and Roman name,
" Think Ireland's peace bought cheaply with my blood,
" And die with pleaſure for my country's good." *

I will now take a conjoint view of the treatment Ireland and Scotland have received from England, in order to ſee whether it will not afford an unanſwerable argument againſt *ever again* coming under a Britiſh Parliament. Firſt, as to Ireland, and to go no farther back than the reign of Charles II. " the Navigation Act, forbids the importation of certain articles from † the Plantations, into Ireland, and which are particularly ſpecified; Ireland conceding the uſurped power of the Engliſh Parliament to make the law, had a right to import the non-enumerated articles; but even the legal and rational conſtruction of an Act of Parliament, was too great a favour to be granted to Ireland, by Engliſh Commiſſioners of Revenue; and, therefore, executive tyranny was called in, to ſupply the deficiency of legiſlative injuſtice; and the ſtatute received the *equitable and rational conſtruction* of, *intending to forbid* the Iriſh merchant from importing into this country, the *un-enumerated*, equally with the enumerated articles; hear this, Iriſh merchants, and tremble

* Rowe. † Anderſon's Hiſt. Com.

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ble for your commerce while you hear! if a Union ſhould take place; and above all, know, that this act of executive tyranny was legalized by ſtatute in the reign of King Wiſliam, the un-enumerated articles being then inſerted in an Act of Parliament: In this reign alſo, as has been already ſtated, the Lords and Commons of England addreſſed the King, to ſuppreſs the woollen manufacture in Ireland, with which requeſt his Majeſty declared he would comply; let the importations of Engliſh cloth, to this hour, decide whether he attended to the prayer of this tyrannous, and iniquitous addreſs. In this reign, the caſe of Ireland, written by Molyneaux, was burnt in London by the common hangman, in obedience to the order of an Engliſh Houſe of Commons. The copper coin of Ireland was permitted to be debaſed, in the reign of George I. to ſatisfy the griping avarice of an Engliſh merchant; and Swift, the beſt and ſincereſt of patriots, for expoſing its baſeneſs, had a price put on his head, and would, at the time, have ſuffered under the fury of miniſterial vengeance:

"But not a traitor could be found
"To ſell him for three hundred pound."

Such was the ſyſtem adopted for Ireland, when *provincially* united to England; a Union, which has not impreſſed Iriſhmen with ſuch high ideas of either her honour, or her generoſity, as to deſire an *incorporate* Union; and ſurely no Iriſhman can be charged with partiality, for holding this opinion, when even two Engliſhmen have ſanctioned it by the accounts which they have given, at two different periods;

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periods; the one, Sir John Davis, Attorney General, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of this country, in the reign of James the Firſt; and the other, Mr. Pitt, in the preſent reign, when but one remove from his venerable and illuſtrious father, (one, who was

" Form'd with reſiſtleſs eloquence to charm,
" And Britain's ſons with *patriot* ardour warm")

ſpeaking of this ſyſtem, farther on, in the ſpeech already quoted, he ſays, " That which had been the ſyſtem from the Revolution, *counteracted the kindneſs* of Providence, and *ſuſpended* the *induſtry* and *enterpriſe* of man. Ireland was *put* under ſuch reſtraint, that *ſhe* was *ſhut* out from *every* ſpecies of commerce—*ſhe* was *reſtrained* from *ſending* the *produce* of *her own ſoil* to *foreign* markets; and all correſpondence with the Colonies of Great Britain was prohibited to her, ſo that ſhe could not derive their commodities but through the medium of Britain." Having, by the authority of Mr. Pitt, and with the ſanction of his name, faſtened on England a ſyſtem, which in another part of the ſame ſpeech, he calls, " cruel and abominable," I will proceed to ſhew, Sir, what I have promiſed, that England, in any contract ſhe has made with this country, has obſerved it with Punic faith. To eſtabliſh the truth of the poſition, it is only neceſſary, to reſtate the compact reſpecting the troops, which ſhe has religiouſly obſerved, when ſhe had no deſire to break it, and ever broke it, when her intereſt required it, regardleſs of the defenceleſs ſtate of this country, as has been already proved, by a recital of Lord Buckingham's anſwer to the Sovereign of Belfaſt,

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nor is the inſtance I have given of the removal of troops, during the Weſtmoreland Adminiſtration, a proof of her having improved under the auſpices of Mr. Pitt in that moral quality, honour; or her taking, in the year 1785, 140,000*l.* per ann. additional duties for commercial advantages to be granted, which, to this day, have never been given. In viewing the conduct obſerved towards Scotland ſince the Union, I cannot ſay that it has pleaſed me in any caſe, where the intereſt of Scotland came, or was ſuppoſed to come in contact with that of England. On three memorable queſtions, ſince the Union, have the rights and intereſts of the Scottiſh nation been ſurrendered to the intereſt, and ſacrificed for the advantage of the Engliſh people. Theſe ſacrifices made, fall under three heads, and form three objections; the third and laſt will enable me to introduce Ireland again.

1ſt, The malt-tax.

2d, The law of treaſon.

3d, The abrogation of the rights of the Scottiſh Peerage, in violation of the Union, and the conſtruction put on it, by the Lords in 1708-9 and affirmed in 1787.

The malt-tax comes firſt under conſideration. On the malt of Scotland it was agreed, at the Union, no tax ſhould be laid on it during the war; but a Legiſlature, the majority of whom, was, by ſituation, placed above the reach of public opinion, the beſt ſecurity of national rights, and the ſtrongeſt incitement to the honourable diſcharge of public duty, contemned the cenſure of a people they conſidered but as ſtep-children; they paſſed this tax

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in

in violation of the agreement, and in oppoſition to the united voice of the Scottiſh members in both houſes of Parliament. This circumſtance, practically proved to the Scotch, the abſurdity of having a foreign Legiſlature to watch over their intereſts; and at a general meeting of the Lords and Commons of Scotland, it was reſolved, that a bill ſhould be brought into Parliament to diſſolve the Union. Accordingly the Earl of Findlater, * aſhamed, I preſume, as Judas was of his *ſhekels*, and tired of his ſhackles, ſtepped forward in the upper houſe, (the only place where the rules of Parliament would allow of its being offered, without aſking permiſſion) the advocate of his country's natural and inherent rights, but ſoon found that the Caledonian Sampſon met a Delilah in his ſiſter England.

The

* This noble lord will be found among the Scottiſh worthies who ſold their country; his ſervices were eſtimated at 100l.

I have been told by a very old and very reſpectable gentleman, that Sir David Dalrymple, one of the Scotch members, having by this, and one or two other ineffectual ſtruggles in defence of the particular intereſt of his own country, learned that all ſuch attempts were vain, and that every queſtion of that kind would be decided, not by *reaſon*, but votes, called his colleagues together, and pointed out the abſurdity of ſuch an oppoſition, but the ſtill greater one, of not making the moſt of their ſituation. Since their efforts could not ſerve Scotland againſt the Engliſh intereſt, he propoſed they ſhould form themſelves into a ſquadron to ſupport the Miniſter on every queſtion; and that the doceur obtained for their *good-will*, ſhould be equally divided among them; and obſerved, that if they offered their ſervices individually, they would be rejected, and the Scottiſh repreſentation would be minus, the ſum, the Miniſter would otherwiſe

give-

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The ſecond objection derives all its ſtrength from the people not chooſing it; my own opinion is, they were ſerved by the alteration.

I will take leave to ſay one word reſpecting Ireland, before I conſider and comment on the third objection.

In the view which I took of the injury done under the head of Ireland, to the different particular intereſts, I purpoſely omitted the conſideration of the rights of one order of men, conſidered in their mere abſtract capacity, that I might introduce it here, as a place more ſuited to their exalted rank; but I muſt be allowed firſt to remind you, that I have, by inconteſtible facts from Engliſh and Iriſh records, proved, that at the period when the *provincial* Union ſubſiſted between England and Ireland, the *intereſt* of the *fiſhermen*, the *manufacturers*, the *traders*,

give. This propoſition, my reporter tells me, was agreed to nem. con. and the bargain ſtruck; ſome are even diſpoſed to believe, that the leaſe then made, was that of lives renewable for ever; and it is ſaid a clauſe of an unuſual nature is inſerted in this leaſe, that every *heir*, on coming into poſſeſſion, pays a fine to the tenantry. Now if it be true, as a friend of mine has lately pointedly obſerved, "That where the Miniſter is, there will they be alſo," what is to become of the *liberties* of Engliſhmen ſhould a Union take place, if the members of the Iriſh Parliament deſerve the character given of them, by the author of the pamphlet I am anſwering? for the world knows that Paddy is too fond of his friend, to prefer coventry to *company*; it is probable, therefore, he may like Sawney's port ſo well, as to wiſh to take a glaſs, and in revenge for the injury done to his own country, aſſiſt in drowning the liberties of England.—Gee ho, John Bull, part not with the whip-hand.

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traders, the *merchants*, and with their intereſt, that of the *landed property* of Ireland, was ſacrificed to the Engliſh people. To the landed gentlemen of Ireland, before I addreſs the noble order, whoſe honours, as ſuch, ſhall next be conſidered, I would ſpeak one word; they, I know, pride themſelves on their high notions of honour; to that honour I at preſent addreſs myſelf: is the *annihilation* of the *exiſtence* of the two houſes of Parliament that diſcovered the *conſpiracy*, the preciſe mode that men of honour would take to evince their gratitude for that favour?

I now recur to the third objection, and that, to ſhew to the peers of my native land, that in the violation of the privileges of the Scottiſh peerage, they read their own, as certainly as effect follows cauſe, from the moment they commit their honours to the cuſtody of the Britiſh Premier. The advice, which, with dutiful ſubmiſſion and reſpect I would preſume to give them, is, conſider, "for after judg-" ment, death."

To ſee more clearly the injuſtice of that deciſion, by which whatever of independence there might have exiſted in the Scottiſh peerage is completely deſtroyed, by permitting the peers of Great Britain to have a voice in electing, *not* the *Repreſentatives* of the Scottiſh peerage, but of a *mongrel* peerage, whoſe intereſts, whoſe ideas, and whoſe ſentiments muſt be Engliſh, not Scotch; and therefore no longer the guardians of the intereſts of Scotland in the houſe of Lords, the *neceſſity* for which Scottiſh guardians is admitted by the very terms of the Union, which provide that ſixteen protectors,

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tectors of her rights ſhall ſit in the upper houſe, it will be neceſſary to ſtate a tranſaction that took place in the Scottiſh Parliament, when the Union was debated, and which bears on the preſent queſtion. A clauſe was propoſed, expreſsly guarding the rights of the Scottiſh peerage, and which if agreed to, would have made the reſolution of the Britiſh Lords in 1708 9 unneceſſary, that reſolution paſſed on the 1ſt of January, in that year,* is conceived in the following words: "That a peer of Scotland claiming to ſit in the houſe of Peers by virtue of a patent paſſed under the great ſeal of Great Britain, and who now ſits in the parliament of Great Britain, *had no right to vote in the election of the ſixteen peers of Scotland in Parliament.*" What has ſince been done with this *legal*, *rational*, and *juſt* reſolution, will appear in the ſequel; the clauſe was however withdrawn, and it was aſſerted that it would be better to leave it to the houſe of Lords to decide on, whenever any caſe might ariſe which ſhould make ſuch a deciſion neceſſary. The caſe did ariſe in the perſon of the Duke of Queenſbury, created Duke of Dover. On this occaſion, and at this time, when all the parties were alive who had aſſiſted in making the treaty of Union, and who therefore, muſt be ſuppoſed as well able to explain the expreſſed and underſtood rights and intereſts, ſecured or created by that treaty, as their poſterity four-ſcore years after them; I ſay we may preſume *theſe* were all conſidered and debated, and they did by their reſolution prove, that the Scottiſh Lords had expreſſed ill-founded

* Note 7 to page 97, of Chriſtian's Ed. of Black. Com. 1ſt.

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ill-founded fears, and that in the *juſtice* of the Britiſh Peers, they had ample ſecurity for the rights of their Peerage.

On the 13th of February 1787, Mr. Pitt, Miniſter, it was reſolved, that the Earl of Abercorn and Duke of Queenſbury, who had been choſen of the number of the ſixteen Peers of Scotland, having been created Peers of Great Britain, *thereby ceaſed to ſit in that Houſe as repreſentatives of the Peerage.** With this reſolution I quarrel not; it is founded in law and juſtice, and conformably to reaſon, and is affirmatory of the principles, on which the reſolution of 1708—9 is founded. In conſequence of this reſolution, two vacancies aroſe in the Scottiſh Peerage, and at the election which enſued, the Dukes of Queenſbury and Gordon gave their votes as Peers of Scotland, in manifeſt violation of the reſolution of 1708-9, founded, I contend, in law, and ſupported by reaſon and juſtice; the *legality and juſtice of it* did, on this election, come again before the Lords, and their Lordſhips did again affirm it; and directed by their reſolution of the 18th of May in this year, that a copy of the reſolution of 1708—9 ſhould be tranſmitted to the Lord Regiſter of Scotland, as a rule for his future proceeding in caſes of election. This determination ſtrictly conſiſtent with law, and ſanctioned by precedent, did by a fortunate concurrence of circumſtances wonderfully ſerve the Miniſter, as he thereby got ſome additional friends in the Scottiſh Peerage; and more ſtrange to tell, by ſome extraordinary chance, the reſolution of the 23d of May 1793,

* Annual Reg. for 1787, page 95.

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1793, which we are about to consider, and which repeals the resolution passed in 1708—9, and affirmed in 1787, did not deprive him of any friend, but did also increase his happiness, by enlarging the sphere of his acquaintance. So wonderfully profuse of her favours to the Right Hon. Gentleman, is the goddess Fortune, that on no account will she ever suffer him to draw a blank. At the general election, which took place previous to May 1793, the Duke of Queensbury and Marquis of Abercorn, (the former one of the very Peers, *whose right* to vote had been denied by the Lords in 1787,) tendered their votes as Peers of Scotland; the Lord Register knowing his duty too well to receive them after the order of the House of Lords of 1787 had been served on him, "*commanding* him *not* to *take* them," did refuse; the matter was moved in the House of Lords, and notwithstanding the former resolution, their Lordships did on the 23d of May 1793,* resolve, "that if duly tendered, they ought to have been counted?" By this resolution, in violation of the spirit of the articles of Union, contradictory of the sense of that very House which passed it, as expressed on two former occasions, unfounded in law, unsanctioned by precedent, and unsupported by justice, the rights of the Scottish Peerage have been abrogated, and the people of Scotland are deprived of the guardians of their rights in the Upper House which the articles of the Union had guaranteed to them. A resolution, so repugnant to the rights of the Scottish

* Brit. Lord's Journ. for 1793.

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Scottish Peerage, and so fraught with national evil, could not escape the eagle-eye of that sagacious nobleman, the Earl of Lauderdale; he addressed the House in the language, not of a *lordling*, but of a baron bold; and finding he was unable to convince them of the justice of his case, or the injustice their resolution would work, he entered, in an unanswerable protest,* his reasons for dissenting from their Lordships. Should the Peers of Ireland with this example before them of a violation of treaty, arising from design or misconception, agree to a Union, they will, when too late, find the only right they will be permitted to enjoy, will be that *innoxious one*, of *protesting*.

If

* The resolution of the 23d of May 1793, having been agreed to by the House, the following admirable protest, was entered by the Earl of Lauderdale, one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland, in which the propriety of supporting the resolution of the Lords in 1708—9, and confirmed in 1787, is maintained.—

DISSENTIENT,

"Because,

"The principles of their representation appear equally violated, whether it be considered as a compensation for the rights which the Scottish nobility surrendered, or as a security and guard for the rights which they retained. The right of representation being given to the Peers of Scotland, for the loss of their hereditary seat in Parliament, nothing seems more evident, than that the compensation cannot be justly claimed by those, who no longer suffer the loss. But while by this resolution, the elective right is lavished on those, who have recovered an hereditary seat, its worth and value is diminished to the Peers of Scotland, who were justly entitled to that growing importance of their suffrage, which was to arise either from the operation of time in lessening their number, or from the promotion of their more favoured brethren to a superior class of Peerage."*

LAUDERDALE.

* British Lords Jour. 1793.

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If a plain, vulgar, and uneducated man were to read these contradictory resolutions, and observe not only the length of time which had elapsed between the passing of the first, and its confirmation in 1787, and its repeal in 1793; but also, be told, that "existing circumstances" had made the confirmation and repeal equally favourable to the interest of the Minister; his vulgar, unfashionable, and uncourtly mind, would lead him to exclaim, what my respect for that House, and my *implicit* faith in their wisdom, will not allow me so much as to think, "political justice, is the creature of the Minister." "When then long experience has taught us, the absurdity of committing the decision to those whose conduct has provoked the question, and whose interest, authority, and fate, are immediately concerned in it."* When we have the authority of Judge Blackstone, "that even an *infringement* of the *fundamental* and *essential conditions of the Union, though a manifest breach of good faith, would not dissolve it*;"† and he tells us in very plain and intelligible language, that a state so leagued, has no redress but by an appeal to the united legislature, (the majority of whom, it is to be recollected, created the evil complained of, and the chance of redress from such a body, is to be seen in the cases decided, and referred to above,) or, an appeal to Heaven. If then with nine solid reasons, every one of which did *ipso facto* by Union, put Scotland into the enjoyment of *substantial* blessings, and every one of

* Paley's Moral. Phil. vol. ii. p. 151.

† Blackstone's Comm. vol. i. p. 97.

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of which that has a preſent power of exiſtence, we do enjoy; that country could not be got to aſſent to her national degradation, but by force and fraud.* If, with the inſtances before us, of plighted faith broken, of injuries inflicted, and inſults offered to her national dignity in the denial of juſtice, Iriſhmen will agree to a Union, I can only ſay, in claſſic language, "Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat." One obſervation I ſhould ſubmit to the good ſenſe of the people of England, the truth and juſtice of it is ſupported by the hiſtory of all nations, and by none, more than their own, *though force may compel, it can never inſure obedience.* The bigot James exemplified the theory in practice, and his poſterity to this day, feel its effects; while the Houſe of Hanover *rejoices* in the juſtice of a ſentiment, which took it from the rank of a German Elector, and elevated it into that, of a Britiſh Monarch.

On the conduct of France incorporating the Netherlands, &c. mentioned by you in page 9, I will, Sir, obſerve a dignified ſilence, for I will not condeſcend to enter into an argument with an Engliſhman, but Iriſh Miniſter, (whom I do not aſſert to be the author, but to whom public rumour has aſcribed the pamphlet I anſwer) who holds the key of a goal in which

* The Lord Goldolphin prevailed with the Queen to lend her Scots Treaſury the ſum of 20,000, which the Earl of Glaſcow is ſaid to diſtribute to the *beſt advantage*, and for which he, ſome years after, accounted with the Engliſh Commiſſioners of Public accounts. Lockhart gives the following liſt of the perſons to whom, the Earl *declared* upon *oath*, he diſtributed the money:

To

which men are imprisoned on a charge, the very *essence* and *substance* of which, is an *imitation* of French conduct,

	£.	s.	d.
To the Earl of Marchmont	1104	15	7
——— Cromarty	300	0	0
Lord Ormistown, Lord Justice Clerk	200	0	0
Duke of Montrose	200	0	0
——— Athol	1000	0	0
Earl of Balcarras	500	0	0
——— Dunmore	200	0	0
Lord Anstruther	300	0	0
Mr. Stuart, of Castle-Stuart	300	0	0
Lord Elphinston	200	0	0
—— Frazer	100	0	0
—— Cesnock, now Palwarth	50	0	0
Mr. John Campbell	200	0	0
Earl of Findlater	100	0	0
Sir Kenneth Mackenzie	300	0	0
Earl of Glencairne	100	0	0
——— Kintone	200	0	0
——— Forfar	100	0	0
John Muir, Provost of Aire	100	0	0
Lord Forbes	150	0	0
Earl of Seafield, Chancellor	490	0	0
Marquis of Tweedale	1000	0	0
Duke of Roxborough	500	0	0
Lord Ellibanks	50	0	0
—— Banf	11	2	0
Major Cunningham, of Echet	100	0	0
The Messenger that brought down the Union	60	0	0
Sir William Sharp	300	0	0
Patrick Coultrain, Provost of Wigtown	25	0	0
Mr. Alexander Wedderburn	75	0	0
The Commissioners for Equipage and daily Allowance*	12,325	0	0
	20,540	17	7

* Tindal, vol. iii. p. 516

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duct, and an *alliance* with French principles; conduct and thoſe principles criminal in them, your own vote in Parliament, to the extent of ſon, are now recommended to the imitation and ption of the yet-convulſed Iriſh nation, under authority, and with the ſanction of the *ſuppoſed* tary Secretary.

now proceed to the fulfilment of the promiſe le in the outſet of this letter, " to demonſtrate *moral* incompetency of Parliament to legalize nion." As every individual derives his right ediately from God, and not from man, to pro- himſelf in the exerciſe of his rights, againſt the cks which lawleſs force, or ruffian power, may e upon him; ſo nations, which are compoſed of viduals, have the ſame right, and are bound to ame duty; the greatneſs of the nation, no more that of the man, conſtitutes the moral right, h in both, in the exerciſe of it, the ability to rt the right contended for, ſhould be well con- d. But though force, or the fear of force may cauſe moral rights to be in abeyance, it cannot annihilate them, the rights of a man who falls into a gang of thieves, are morally ſpeaking, as perfect as the king on his throne, though the exerciſe of them be by force ſuppreſſed. To apply this reaſoning, all nations are as to each other in a ſtate of nature; they have a right to protect themſelves by force againſt the attacks of others, and the duty of preſerving themſelves, flows from the right to preſerve; but they cannot exert their phyſical force to the beſt advantage in war, or direct it to uſeful objects in peace,

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peace, without a power adequate to the end; and as a few can always lead, adviſe, and direct, better than many, every nation has *appointed leaders* or *governors* to tranſact and manage for the many, that which muſt be ill done, if attempted by all. Theſe leaders or governors have, in the different ſtates of the world, obtained various names, and the powers of Government have greatly increaſed or diminiſhed according to the forms eſtabliſhed. But whatever title the Government bears, or whatever power may have originally been granted to it, no abſurdity can be greater, than to ſuppoſe a clauſe in the grant, empowering the grantee to annihilate the grantor. Every ſtate then I conclude, Sir, has the moral right to defend itſelf, and if phyſically able, the political and moral duty of ſelf-defence is caſt upon it by the *divine hand* that created it, and a deſertion of ſuch duty is *treaſon* againſt God. This phyſical ability to defend, does not create the theoretical right, but invigorates the practical exerciſe of it, and adds the ſanction of prudence, to the fiat of reaſon, and the commands of duty. However then the ſurrender of national independence may be excuſed, pardoned, or extenuated, in a nation whoſe phyſical power is not equal to the repelling force by force, as a nation like the Iſle of Man, placed under "a neceſſity that chooſes, not is choſen," it never can be done by a nation able to maintain its rights, and aſſerts its honour, without a manifeſt violation of moral duty, and a criminal renunciation of the free will granted by the Creator to the creature, for the regulating of his conduct, and for the

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the *abuſe* of which he will be made anſwerable at the *day* of general judgment. As individuals are prevented by the great moral law from ſubmitting themſelves to the *arbitrary* will of another, whoſe power, if ſuch ſubmiſſion were, morally ſpeaking, valid, might command obedience to immoral actions; ſo nations created of a congregate body of individuals, cannot collectively have any power, which the perſons compoſing them, did not individually poſſeſs; and men, as individuals, not poſſeſſing the right, could not collectively have it; and, not having it, could not transfer it to their governors, who, in a moral and philoſophical ſenſe, are the national Repreſentatives: as, in a legal one, the members of the Houſe of Commons are the national truſtees. Governors then, by whatever name they are called, or whatever title they aſſume, have only been inſtituted to do that which, individuals from their numbers cannot do, they, as moral agents, being accountable to God "for all the acts done in the body," have not only no right to transfer their free agency to any other perſon whatſoever, but by ſo doing, commit the greateſt crime againſt the ſupreme Majeſty of Heaven, which creatures can be guilty of, a renunciation of ſelf-government, their bounden duty as moral agents, ariſing from free-will, the moſt diſtinguiſhed faculty that can be granted to a creature, and a ſurrender of the proud ſuperiority of man over all other beings, conferred on him, as a *dignified* and *infallible* certificate of his deſcent from the *great being*, in whoſe image he was created, "for in the image of God created he man."*

Four

* Geneſis, 1ſt Chap. 27th Verſe.

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Four ſteps have been made towards attempting to prove the propoſition to be demonſtrated; firſt, the right of ſelf-government and ſelf-defence as contingent on the former, have been proved to be duties ariſing from the moral relations which the creature bears to the Creator: Secondly, that men, by congregating into ſocieties, neither enlarge nor diminiſh their moral rights or duties thereby, and this, becauſe created by a ſuperior power, no act of theirs can alter their nature: Thirdly, that they are bound, by all means in their power, to obſerve the great law of nature, "ſelf-defence," and that this cannot be ſo effectually inforced by man in his individual, as his congregate capacity: Fourthly, that the *wants* of individuals, and the *ſuper-added* wants of ſociety, *prevent* them from employing themſelves in this way, *without* abſolving them of the duty; and hence ariſes the *neceſſity* of leaders or governors, to ſee this duty performed; and, therefore, univerſal law proclaims what Lord Coke ſays is the law of England in Calvin's caſe,* "protecto trahit ſubjectione, and ſubjectio protectione." It follows as a corollary from theſe arguments, that Government, in which term is underſtood every thing appertaining thereto, and conſequently the Legiſlature, is a *truſt* eſtate, and the truſtees have no power to commit waſte, nor any right to cut off the entail; the fee-ſimple, ſays our countryman, Junius,§ is in poſterity. Such are the abſtract reaſons by which my humble judgment has been convinced of the truth of the propoſition, ever ſince I have

* 7th Report.

§ Biographical, Literary and Political Anecdotes, Vol. 1ſt, page 16.

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I have been able to think. Precedent, and the authority of the writers both on municipal law, and the Law of Nations, ſhall now ſtrengthen and ſupport metaphyſical reaſoning. Firſt, then, ſhall be introduced the authority of the unanimous reſolutions of that patriotic band, the *Lawyers Corps* of Volunteers, in 1782, who, when a Yelverton and a Huſſey Burgh, and a majority, if not all the preſent Judges of Ireland, adorned its ranks, were not aſhamed to take, nor afraid to own, that *their* motto was "Salus populi, ſuprema lex;" and fully they proved that this was their motto in *deeds*, as well as in words. Their Reſolutions will ſpeak for themſelves:

At a full Meeting of the Lawyers Corps, the 28th of February 1782, *purſuant to notice.*

Colonel EDWARD WESTBY, in the Chair.

The following Reſolutions were *unanimouſly* agreed to:

Reſolved, That the Members of the Houſe of Commons are the *Repreſentatives of*, and *derive their power ſolely* from, the people; and that a *denial* of *this propoſition by them*, would be *to abdicate* the repreſentation.

The other Reſolutions, not applying to the preſent queſtion, are not introduced here, ſuffice it to ſay, that they were truly patriotic. Such was the imperial and patriotic language of the Bar in 1782: but Dungannon had juſt before that ſpoken "in the thunder, as well as the muſic, of the ſpheres." The ſecond authority, is the *indirect* one, of the preſent Chancellor, when Attorney General; and it is *direct* to prove *this fact*, that ſuch was the love of national honour in 1785, that, according to his account of the

Propoſitions, the ability of the father of Iriſh freedom, and all his colleagues, would never have been able to have raiſed that general diſlike to them, which pervaded the kingdom on that memorable occaſion, if they had not proclaimed the attack which they made on *the independence* of Ireland, an attack, in his mind, unfounded, but which, if true, we are to underſtand from this ſpeech, would have been *criminal*, the whole *ſtrength*, not only of his argument, but of every man who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, conſiſting in a denial of this aſſumption, as they called it on the part of the Oppoſition, *for the expreſs purpoſe of damning* with the nation, what by argument they were not *able* to *prove dangerous* to the commercial intereſts of the country, fighting in the maſk of the Conſtitution, becauſe national honour beat high in its defence, thoſe mercantile boons, the ſterling advantages of which, they could not deny. We will now hear his Lordſhip: "I now come to the *great* argument of thoſe who oppoſe this ſyſtem*—the argument, if it deſerves the name, which has been *trumpeted* forth by the enemies of Ireland (the Chancellor ſays they are the *enemies* of *both countries*, who would ſurrender the Iriſh Legiſlature; and ſo, in my ſoul, I believe they are) in both countries, to inflame *her* pride, and *to prejudice* her againſt this ſettlement. It is *aſſerted again* and *again*, that *this treaty* is an *inſult* to Ireland—that it *ſtrikes directly at the independence of her legiſlature.* This is the firſt inſtance in which Ireland has ever treated; and it is a *new idea* to me, that England, by *opening and carrying on a treaty* with her, *as an independent*

* Woodfall's Debates, p. 64.

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dent state, insults her pride, and strikes at her independence."

The next authority is Mr. Burke, and his words are from a book, of which a *certain personage* said at levee, "Sir, every king in Europe is obliged to you for this work," this book, the manual of modern cabinets, and which cost the English nation an enormous pension. Is Mr. Burke to be always authority for despotic acts, and of no weight on the side of freedom? His words are *—"It is indeed difficult, perhaps impossible, to give limits to the mere abstract competence of the supreme power, such as was exercised by Parliament at the Revolution; but the *limits* of a *moral* competence, subjecting even in powers more indisputably sovereign, *occasional* will to permanent reason, and to the *steady* maxims of faith, justice, and fixed *fundamental* policy, are perfectly intelligible, and perfectly *binding* upon those who exercise any authority under any name, or under any title, in the state. The House of Lords, for instance, is not *morally* competent

* Reflections on French Revolution, 71.

In the reign of Charles II. it was determined in the case of Lord Purbeck, by the authority of the Lords themselves, which sanctions Mr. Burke's opinion, "that a title is inherent in the blood, and while that remains *uncorrupted*, can by no means be *extinguished* by *surrender or otherwise*." Is the right then of an individual more valuable, than that of a nation? and shall an individual be by positive law, rendered incapable of surrendering, or extinguishing the perishable honours of the peerage and the *moral* law, not forbid the extinguishment of an unalienable birthright? This indeed would be to invert all order, and boldly affirm the creatures of man, are superior to those of God.

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petent to *diſſolve* itſelf, nor to *abdicate, if it would, its proportion* in the legiſlature of the kingdom. Though a king may abdicate for his own perſon, he cannot *abdicate* for the *monarchy*. By as ſtrong, or *by a ſtronger reaſon*, the Houſe of Commons *cannot renounce its ſhare of authority*. The *engagement* and *pact* of ſociety, which generally goes by *the name* of the Conſtitution, *forbids ſuch invaſion and ſuch ſurrender*." The *conſtituent parts* of a ſtate, are obliged to hold their *public faith with each other, and with all thoſe who derive any ſerious intereſt under their engagements, as much as the whole ſtate is bound to keep its faith* with ſeparate communities, otherwiſe *competence and power would ſoon be confounded, and no law be left but the will of a prevailing force*."

I now, Sir, have diſcovered your fundamental objection to the mode the Iriſh Parliament took of appointing a Regent, they have not furniſhed you with a precedent of that extraordinary nature the Engliſh Parliament has; and which would enable you, without much difficulty, to prove the right they obtained from that Act, to deſtroy themſelves. The two Houſes of Parliament in acknowledging their inability in their individual capacity, to perform any legiſlative Act, have proved to the world, what it never knew before, excepting in the Engliſh language, that two individual non-entities, could conjointly produce an entity, which in return, ſhould kindly vivify the dead bodies, to which it owed its exiſtence; and then, that they and it together, ſhould form a being completely dependent on themſelves, not equally perfect, as he ſhould be, with the perſon,

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ſon, whoſe place he was *pro tempore* to ſupply. The Iriſh Parliament, conſcious that the melancholy and awful cauſe which created the *neceſſity* that called upon them to act, had had its operation in the wiſdom of a power, it could not controul, proceeded to act, not becauſe, *legally* ſpeaking, they had a power to act, but becauſe the law had left this a *caſus omiſſus*, and unleſs they had acted, there could have been no executive government. Their *right* then grew out of neceſſity, that word, equally the plea of the tyrant, and the juſtification of the freeman; it is in the exerciſe of the right, we diſcover the difference, the *former* in his mode of ſupplying the deficiency, takes care that the remedy propoſed, ſhall be the creating cauſe of generating neceſſities, and above all, ſhall never effect that which alone gives the *moral*, for there is no legal right of acting: the *latter*, adopts that mode, which not only annihilates the neceſſity, that produced the moral right of action, but by giving full powers to the ſubſtitute, fulfils the duty it undertook, and makes a recurrence to its own extraordinary power unneceſſary, by giving to all the conſtituted authorities of the ſtate, with the quickeſt expedition poſſible, the exerciſe of their legal and natural authorities, evincing by its *acts*, not its words, that it aſſumed *power to uſe it, not abuſe* it. Such was the conduct of the Iriſh Parliament at the time of the Regency, ſuch ever will be the conduct of all men, who look upon the chief magiſtrate of a country, as poſſeſſing his prerogatives and his powers for national, not individual benefit. His place, therefore, never can be ſaid to

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have

have been ſupplied, until the perſon holding the ſtation *prò tempore*, is inveſted with the authority, which in the original conſtruction of the Conſtitution was deemed neceſſary for the preſervation of each order, againſt the encroachments of the other, and for the fully diſcharging the duties of its own ſtation.

But to recur to our quotation from Mr. Burke, which will be found on page 69—" The intereſt of that portion of ſocial arrangement, called our country, is a *truſt* in the hands of all thoſe who compoſe it; and as none but *bad* men would juſtify it in abuſe, none but *traitors* would barter it away for their own perſonal advantage."

The next authority I ſhall produce is the laſt clauſe but two of Mr. Orde's Bill, to preſent which, he obtained the leave of the Houſe Commons, on the 12th of Auguſt 1785; the clauſe has the ſanction of that Houſe to the principle I contend for, " the *moral* incompetency of Parliament to create a Revolution."

" No law made by the preſent Parliament can *limit* or *reſtrain* the *free* and unqueſtioned *exerciſe* or diſcretion of any *ſucceeding* Parliaments, who muſt be *competent*, *equally* as is the *preſent*, to every act of legiſlation whatever." To ſuppoſe then, that a Parliament cannot have power to deprive future Parliaments of their legiſlative rights, and yet have a power to annihilate the conſtitution of Parliament itſelf, from whence *theſe* rights flow, is a contradiction in terms, a mockery of ſenſe, an inſult to reaſon. This is a new ſpecies of morality, more

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ſinful to do the *leſs* than the *greater* crime, " this is paying tithe of mint, and cummin ſeed, but omitting the weightier matters of the law, it is preferring judgment, to mercy."* To this I add the authority of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, who in a joint addreſs to the King on the 29th of July 1785, ſay on the reſolutions they then preſented to his Majeſty,† " They can only be carried into *effect* by laws paſſed in the Parliament of Ireland, which is *alone* competent to bind your Majeſty's ſubjects in that kingdom, *and whoſe legiſlative rights* we ſhall *ever* hold as *ſacred* as our own." Memorable words, " as ſacred as our own," ſo long as the Journals of the Britiſh Parliament have exiſtence, ſo long are the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, eſtopelled by their own voluntary act and deed, from agreeing to a Union; if in defiance of faith thus plighted, they ſhall attempt to propoſe it, they ſhall find that thoſe recorded words‡ " like the fingers of the man's hand mentioned in Scripture, ſhall appear on the walls of their ſenatorial chambers, they ſhall change their countenances, they ſhall trouble their thoughts, they ſhall looſen their joints, and make their knees to ſmite one againſt another, they ſhall be the *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Uphraſin.*"‡

The next authority is Molineux, whoſe caſe of Ireland was burnt, in obedience to the order of an

* St. Matthew, xxiii. 23d verſe.

† Woodf. Appendix 24 to Iriſh Prop.

‡ Daniel, chap. v. verſe 5.

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an English House of Commons, by the hands of the common hangman, and who dare not at that time go to England, to see his friend Mr. Locke.* "The most learned in the laws, says this writer, have no more power to make or *alter* a constitution, than any other man; and their decisions shall no more prevail, than supported by reason and equity. All men are by nature in a state of equality, in respect of jurisdiction or dominion. On this equality in nature, is founded that *right* which *all* men claim of being free from *all subjection* to positive laws, until by their *own* consent they give their freedom, by entering into civil societies for the *common* benefit of all the members thereof. And on this *consent* depends the *obligation* of *human laws*; inasmuch that without it, by the *unanimous* opinion of all jurists, no sanctions are of any force. For this we might appeal among many others, to the judicious Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, book 1st. section 10, where much may be read to this effect, as also in Grotius, Puffendorf and Locke." Let the English nation remember they incurred the whole debt of the American war, by violating the principles here laid down, in the words of the late Lord O'Neil, on a memorable debate, at which I was present, he said—"they first despised her weakness, then roused her to fight, and in the end taught her to conquer."

The friend of Molineux, Mr. Locke, comes next in aid of freedom's rights. "There remains still *inherent*

* Case of Ireland, pages 101, 127, 130.

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inherent in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative *act contrary* to the *trust* reposed in them; for, when such *trust is abused*, it is thereby *forfeited*, and *devolves to those who gave it.*"* And what says Blackstone to this paragraph, from whose 161st page † I take it, not that it is not bona fide true, but his objection to it is, "that *under no dispensation of* Government can such theory be admitted. Why? Because this devolution of power, to the people at large, *includes* in it a *dissolution* of the whole form of government: Established by whom? According to Blackstone, by *the* People, and reduces all the *members* to their original state of equality; and by *annihilating* the sovereign power, repeals all positive laws whatsoever before enacted. No *human laws* will therefore *suppose* a case, which at once must destroy *all* law, and *compel* men to build afresh upon a new foundation; nor will they make provision for so desperate an event, as must render all *legal* provisions ineffectual. So long therefore as the English *Constitution lasts*, we may venture to affirm, that the power of Parliament is absolute and without control." Two things are to be gathered from Locke's text, with Blackstone's Commentary.—First, that "when the trust is abused, it is thereby forfeited, and devolves to those who gave it;" but the learned Judge says, "that such a supposition being a decomposition of society, laws which are only made for man in a settled state, will not suppose a case, which in rerum naturâ, is a *destruction* of all

law,

* Locke on Gov. S. 149. 227. † Bl. Com. vol. 1st.

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law, and *compels men* to build afresh upon a new foundation:" The learned Judge, therefore, by this commentary, does admit the moral truth of the position, and does therefore lend his great name to the sanction of my theory; in the French Constitution, made by Robespierre, do I alone find that case provided for, which the learned Judge says, human laws will never suppose. The authority of Blackstone, then, to prove the omnipotency of Parliament to make a Union, as quoted by an anonymous Barrister, page 41, might have been spared by that learned gentleman, if he had read his author as carefully as, I presume, he reads his briefs; for he would then have seen, that the Judge spoke of a qualified omnipotency, not, as this gentleman asserts, an omnipotency to destroy the Constitution; but, as if he had said, a power coequal with its duties under the Constitution; for the *omnipotency*, contend for it how he may, is, by the very words of Blackstone, to last, *only during* the *continuance* of the Constitution; so that by this, when the one is destroyed, the other ceases. His words are, "So *long*, therefore, as the English Constitution *lasts*;" and this is the second thing we learn from our legal commentator.

The last authority I shall quote, is Lord Chancellor Fortescue:* "A King of England, says the Chancellor, cannot, at his pleasure, make any alterations in the laws of the land; for the nature of his Government, is not only regal, but political. Nihil potest Rex quam quod de jure potest. The common and statute laws of

* Fort, De Land. L. Ang. 16.

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of England are, in the mafs and bulk of them, unalterable." The meaning of this, I take to be, that the laws of England, generally, being founded on the indifputable and acknowledged rights of mankind, fuch an abrogation of them, fhall not take place, as to injure thofe rights.

I hope I have now, Sir, produced both argument and precedent, to convince you and every rational man, that Parliament has no right to make a Union; and that fuch an act, being beyond their power, they would, by doing it, decompofe fociety, and abrogate all pofitive law.

While the Union of Scotland was actually on the tapis, we may remember, that by a proclamation, bearing the facred name of Queen Anne, but in *reality*, the Minifter's, all difcuffion was forbidden, and every perfon, under the penalty of being deemed a libeller, was to believe that the Scottifh members of Parliament were *influenced* by *nothing*, but the Salus Populi. Power, my countrymen, may at all times compel, yet it never could convince; and he who has read the lift of the Scottifh Senators, with their bribes, will affent to the truth of this propofition. The hiftorian, in defiance of authority, fummonfes a Scottifh Chancellor to his bar, for his patricidal conduct, and pronounces, without fear, the fentence of Pope on the ufurper:

"See Cromwell damned to everlafting fame."

At the bar of the hiftorian, muft plebeians, nobles, and kings, appear, and receive judgment, irrevocable, for their acts; and in difcharge of the facred duty he has impofed on himfelf, he is bound

to

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to warn the age in which he lives, againſt the craft of the politician, by fairly and impartially exhibiting the operating cauſes, which decide the conduct of *pretended* patriots, *really labouring for their own intereſts*, under pretence of ſerving their country. But why, Iriſhmen, ſhould we expreſs aſtoniſhment at the deſcendants of a Parliament, ſelling their *country* for £.20,000? who ſold their King for a groat; that very King too, for remaining ſteady to whom ſo many of our Sarsfields loſt their eſtates? What? ſhall an adherence to an Iriſh King, in one century, deprive Iriſhmen of their property, and force them to be exiles from their native land; and in a ſubſequent century, a no leſs ſtrong attachment to a ſovereign, who "claims his crown by the election, and *holds* it by the *affection* of his people," the *beſt* and *ſtrongeſt* ſecurity of a monarch's throne; blot out their independent and imperial kingdom from the map of Europe, *that kingdom*, ſo much more ancient than the Engliſh monarchy,* "as to give precedence to Henry V. of England, in right of being Lord of Ireland, at the Council of Conſtance." But how, my countrymen, can you ſuppreſs your indignation againſt the Engliſh Miniſtry, and their Anglo-Iriſh friends here, who can propoſe a Union? That very Miniſtry, who, with their adherents here, pronounced ſentence of eternal damnation againſt the firſt National Aſſembly, for violating the rights of an aſſumed ſovereignty of the Pope, (the friend of the Britiſh Miniſter every where, but in Ireland) in a *real*

* Crawford's Hiſt. of Irel. vol. 1ſt. p. 5.

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real imperium in imperio, exemplified in the provincial government of Avignon, a territory, in rerum naturâ, incapable of maintaining its independence; yet Ireland, Imperial Ireland, with a population of 5,000,000 of hardy people, ſhall, on the word of a ſo-journer, be pronounced an imperium in imperio, and as ſuch, a Grand Jury of Engliſh clerks, at the Caſtle, ſhall take upon themſelves to preſent it as a nuiſance, and direct Engliſh ſoldiers to abate the ſame. In a public cauſe, if neceſſary, (though in a private one, *never*) it ſhall be found,

> " That *life* I contemn, and death I recommend,
> " He breaths not vital air, who'll make me bend.
>
> Sarsfield, Ld. Lucan's Speech, Battle of Aughrim.

Yes, my friends, that very Ireland is called an imperium in imperio, which country is placed in that ſtate, pronounced by the Royal wiſe man, in his Proverbs,* to be the happieſt, " having neither poverty nor riches, but fed with food convenient for her." Rendered ſtrong by the mercies of a kind and indulgent Providence, for the *moral* right of ſelf-defence; *weak*, as would to God *all nations were!* for the *immoral power of offence*. Is a Union, an *annihilation* of national independence, the reward which Engliſh Royaliſts, and the King's ſervants, would give to the hereditary lovers of a *limited* monarchy, and the unſhaken loyalty of a generous nation? If ſuch is to be the caſe, the year 1798 will prove the truth of what the Royal Pſalmiſt has ſaid in his hundred and eighteenth pſalm, and ninth verſe.

Mr.

* Prov. chap. xxx. v. 8.

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Mr. Pitt having found fault with the National Aſſembly for having ſuppreſſed the Papal Government of Avignon, which was an imperium in imperio, in France, cannot now be aſtoniſhed at the People of Ireland ſaying, Sir, " de te fabula narratur." France always condemned by Mr. Pitt, is ever followed by him.

On pages 30 and 31, you addreſs a word or two to the Diſſenters and Roman Catholics, each of whom you wiſh if poſſible to cajole, at the expence of one another, and both at the expence of the nation. I will, in my turn, addreſs a word to them.

The ſituation of theſe two bodies of men is totally different in this country, from what it is in England. The former is only diſtinguiſhable *politically* as a Diſſenter, by enjoying a *greater* privilege than a member of the Eſtabliſhed Church; and in that ſituation he has been now for nineteen years, the teſt act of the 2d of Anne, cap. 6, having been repealed in his favour, by the 19th and 20th of Geo. III. cap. 6. The Diſſenter is, therefore, now in a better ſituation under the exiſting laws, than the Churchman; becauſe, if the former be in poſſeſſion of an office, he can only loſe it by the Legiſlature repealing the 19th and 20th of the King; whereas the latter, by neglecting to perform the requiſites by law required, may, by the omiſſion of the Legiſlature to paſs the uſual act for enlarging the time for perſons neglecting to qualify, be deprived of his office; and religiouſly, by the paying of two clergymen, a grievance which he ſuffers in common with his Roman Catholic brethren, whoſe ſituation I ſhall briefly conſider. The political

diſadvantages

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diſadvantages under which they ſtill labour, I, in common with many others, lament; few, though too many they certainly are, compared with thoſe they would aſſuredly be partakers of, if a Union ſhould take place. I will not impoſe on myſelf the unpleaſant and diſagreeable taſk of weighing acknowledged grievances, and pointing out the exact plus and minus: I will content myſelf with aſſuming what is an uncontrovertible fact, that the Diſſenters of both communions from the Eſtabliſhed Church, enjoy privileges at preſent which their brethren in England do not; and I will then put it to any liberal man to decide, whether I hazard too much, in the event of a Union, in ſaying theſe privileges will be diminiſhed, and the *ſpecious* pretence for this unjuſt act, will be the neceſſity of having equal laws throughout the Union *.

I will now ſhew you, my countrymen, the outlines of ſuch a ſpeech as the great political juggler would order one of his Iriſh "Who wants me?" to make, when introducing a bill into the Parliament of the Union, for ſuch a purpoſe.

Mr. Speaker,

When I conſider the honour which my conſtituents in Ireland have done me, by ſending me into this Houſe, I am at a loſs to expreſs myſelf in language ſufficiently grateful. Recollecting, Sir, the honour done

* This was done, according to Blackſtone, by the Statute of Wales, on the annexing of that principality to the crown of England, who ſays, page 94. vol. 1ſt, "that very material alterations were made in divers parts of their laws, ſo as to *reduce* them *nearer* to the Engliſh *ſtandard*.

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done me, and the duty impoſed upon me by it, nothing but what I conſider a more imperative duty, the *general tranquillity* of the whole Union, could induce me to move for leave to bring in a bill, which muſt injure the inhabitants of that part of the Union I repreſent, ſo much, as the one I hold in my hand, and which is entitled "An Act to put the Diſſenters of both Communions from the Eſtabliſhed Church, of that part of the Empire formerly called Ireland, on the ſame footing with thoſe of the ſame Communion in England." Sir, I do not mean to deny the truth of the principles which I know will be advanced by the Honourable Gentleman* oppoſite to me, the advocate of civil and religious liberty, and the ſteady and determined oppoſer of tyranny, *wherever* it may appear. Sir, I reſpect his character; and if it did not appear too preſumptuous in me to offer an opinion on his acknowledged talents, I would ſay that Heaven had given them to him, not for the ſervice merely of his own country, but for the general advantage of the great family of human kind. But, Sir, whilſt I will admit the ſtrength of his reaſoning, and the impoſſibility of refuting his arguments on the broad principle of moral juſtice, or equal rights, you muſt permit me to ſay, that on this queſtion of national tranquillity, and the *eaſe* of the executive government, I throw ſuch arguments out of my contemplation; and I am ſure *this* Houſe, *which* did not think *national rights* any objection to the paſſing of the Union, which annihilated them, will agree in opinion with me, that the partial rights of the Preſbyterians and Roman Catholics

* Mr. Fox.

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Catholics of Ireland, ought not now to be put in competition with the general peace of the Empire, which can only be eſtabliſhed, and ſecured, by the laws being the ſame for people of ſimilar religious perſuaſions throughout the whole Union. Humble as I am, Sir, on this part of the caſe, I fear not to meet the Honourable Gentleman himſelf, as his general cry is "*equal* laws;" will he then, an Engliſhman, agree that Iriſhmen ſhall enjoy advantages which the Legiſlature of his own country has *repeatedly* refuſed to the petitions of his conſtituents, ſupported by his *great*, and unrivalled *abilities?* Sir, I will detain the Houſe no longer on this ſubject; my Right Honorable Friend* on my right, with his acknowledged *rhetorical* powers, will ſatisfy all your doubts, ſhould any ariſe, and *even* your *qualms* of conſcience, if any conſcience you have left."§

Vulgar minds would think that Paddy played ſecond, as well as firſt fiddle; but Seignior Pittachio, who underſtands managing the Houſe better than ordinary people, otherwiſe commands. In obedience to a previous arrangement, John Bull, as if by chance, ſtarts up, and thus addreſſes the Speaker:

"Sir,

Ordinary men would have been deterred from moving for leave to introduce ſuch a Bill as that propoſed by my Honourable Friend, and which, if he

permits

* Mr. Pitt. § The love of Paddy's country is ſuppoſed to bear down Parliamentary decorum, at the moment he is concluding; a qualm of conſcience having convulſed him, on account of the acknowledged injuſtice of the act.

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permits me, I will ſecond. Sir, he has laid this houſe, and the nation, under many obligations to him for his motion, and particularly honours me by accepting of my offer to ſecond a Bill, which, by putting the Diſſenters of all deſcriptions ſcattered over the Union, on an equal footing, muſt prevent thoſe bickerings which might ariſe from the want of it, and effectually deprive the Diſſenters of England of the opportunity of complaining that they were on a worſe footing than thoſe of Ireland. Sir, I will not, any more than my Honourable Friend, deny, that when this Bill ſhall have paſſed into a law, the Diſſenters of each communion in Ireland will *not* be *deprived* of franchiſes which they now enjoy, *greater* than thoſe allowed to the ſame people here: but give me leave to ſay, Sir, they will have *no right* to complain at this *diminution* of privilege, as they are not put on a worſe footing than their brethren here, and therefore, I think, they ought to be very well ſatisfied.

Sawney then riſes and ſays—

Mr. Speaker,

It may ſeem rather odd, Sir, that I, who am a Preſbyterian, and whoſe National Church is protected by an expreſs Statute, ſhould vote for leſſening the privileges of Diſſenters, and bringing them, but *lately*, emancipated from a Teſt Act, &c. under the proviſions of ſo formidable law, a ſecond time. But in truth, Sir, to me there appears *nothing formidable* in it; for ſuch is the *ken* of my countrymen, and ſo great their ability and ſpeed in learning any thing, that they, at ſight, can read and underſtand the Creed of the Kirk, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the

Confeſſions

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Confeſſions of Weſtminſter. In ſhort, Sir, they never *ſtumble* at any thing, as my Right Honorable Friend* has *more* than *once* proved. Indeed, Sir, he, though a Preſbyterian, never heſitates to *qualify* according to the Rights of the Church of England, if the office of Secretary of State, Treaſurer of the Navy, &c. be vacant. Sir, he is a very good example; and I know no reaſon why theſe Iriſhmen ſhould pretend to more religion than a Scotſman? Sir, I vote for the motion.

Mr. Fox then roſe, and ſaid—

Mr. Speaker,—

——————————————————— but more of his ſpeech I dare not report; my humble talents will not ſoar to the elevation of his mind; ſufficient to ſay, that whatever the claſſic mind has formed to itſelf in idea, of Demoſthenic eloquence, falls ſhort of the talents diſplayed this day, by that great man. He is indeed one, whom I may ſay in the language of Pope, is able

> To wake the ſoul by tender ſtrokes of art,
> To raiſe the genius, and to mend the heart,
> To make mankind in conſcious virtue bold,
> Live o'er each ſcene, and be what they behold.

The Bill is then received, read a firſt, ſecond, and third time, in violation of the ancient and eſtabliſhed rules of Parliament, but ſtrictly conformable to Mr. Pitt's newly-adopted plan of paſſing Bills of great moment, leſs conſideration being neceſſary on ſuch occaſions, than on a Turnpike Bill—is ſent to the Lords, agreed to by their Lordſhips; and at Eight o'Clock, the Lords Commiſſioners, in their robes, give the Royal Aſſent to "a Bill for tranquilizing the

* Mr. Dundas.

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the Union," by reducing the privileges of the Iriſh Diſſenters, of both communions, to the Engliſh ſtandard on that ſubject.

Whilſt I cannot help thinking with Mr. Burke*, "That the ſtate ought not to be conſidered as nothing better than a partnerſhip in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or ſome other ſuch low concern, *to be taken up for a little temporary intereſt*, and to be diſpoſed of by the fancy of the parties; *but that it is to be looked on with other reverence, becauſe it is not a partnerſhip in things* ſubſervient only to the groſs animal exiſtence of *a temporary and periſhable nature*. It is a partnerſhip in all ſcience; a partnerſhip in all art; a partnerſhip in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the *ends* of ſuch a partnerſhip *cannot be obtained in many generations*, it became a partnerſhip, not only between thoſe who are living, but thoſe who are dead, and thoſe who are to be born. Each contract of each particular ſtate is but a clauſe in the great primæval contract of eternal ſociety, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the viſible with the inviſible world, *according to the fixed compact ſanctioned by the inviolable oath which holds* all phyſical and all moral natures, each in their appointed place. *This law is not ſubject to the will of thoſe who by an obligation above them, and infinitely ſuperior, are bound to ſubmit their will to that law.* The municipal corporations of that univerſal kingdom, *are not morally at liberty at their pleaſure, and*

on

* Reflect. Fr. Rev. 143.

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on their ſpeculations of a contingent improvement, wholly to ſeparate and tear aſunder the bands of their ſubordinate community, and to diſſolve it into an unſocial, (into this ſtate is every ſociety put, according to Locke and Blackſtone, when the legiſlature is *ſubverted*) uncivil, unconnected chaos of elementary principles. It is the firſt and ſupreme neceſſity only, a neceſſity that is not choſen but chooſes *a neceſſity paramount to deliberation,* (this is not the preſent ſtate of Ireland) that admits *no diſcuſſion,* and demands *no evidence,* which alone can juſtify a reſort to anarchy." I will, to prove to thoſe who think Locke and Molineaux, ſhould be laid aſide, for Voſter and Windgate, and the rights of a nation, concede to the "golden rule," ſubmit a few words on trade as diſtinct from conſtitutional franchiſes, connected with which it has been already conſidered. When the advocates of a Union, which is to deſtroy that free conſtitution, from whence this bleſſing *naturally* flows, and this *ſource* of riches *really* comes, ſpeak on this ſubject, they launch forth in all the *pompoſity* of language, and all the *ignorance* of inexperience. They ſpeak of Cork, as if it were to be a Tyre or Carthage, and in their idea, Golconda's mines will lack riches, compared with thoſe which will be found in the ſtreets of Cork, when the halcyon days of Union come. Three proofs drawn from particular facts, which facts include in themſelves evidence of the general motives which impel, and principles that actuate capitaliſts, (thoſe gentlemen who will then be as numerous

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numerous in Ireland as the ſand of the ſea) ſhall be given. The firſt proof I will give, is not only explanatory of the principles on which capitaliſts have, and ever will act, but will prove to the citizens of Cork what a South Sea bubble the Union is, if any of them be ſo weak as to think either that their city will be ſerved by this meaſure, or injured, if it is not carried. Previous to examining the proofs I have promiſed, I will, Sir, with your leave, take a brief view of what are the general operating cauſes of ex-patriation, a ſubject on which I have never heard one word fall from the moſt zealous advocate of the Union; and yet, Sir, not only the ex-patrioting, but the impatrioting cauſes are neceſſary to be conſidered on this queſtion. And firſt, Sir, of the impatrioting cauſes: Do you think that *falſe* returns to writs of Habeas Corpus, that *will* ſubſtituted for law, that tortures condemned by God, and forbidden by every civiliſed ſtate in the world*, declared near two hundred ago by the *unanimous* opinion of all the judges of England, on a caſe referred

* Lord Chancellor Forteſcue in his admirable treatiſe entitled, De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, ſays in chap. 22, concerning torture, p. 41. "In France they put the *accuſed* to the rack, by which over cautious and *inhuman* ſtretch of policy, the *ſuſpected*, as well as the *really* guilty, are, in that kingdom, tortured ſo many ways, as is too tedious and bad for deſcription. Who that has *once* gone through this *horrid* trial by torture, *be he never ſo innocent, who will not rather confeſs himſelf guilty of all kinds of wretchedneſs*, than undergo like tortures a ſecond time? Now, what *certainty* can there ariſe from ſuch *extorted* confeſſions? Such a practice, ſays this learned Chancellor, ſhould be called the *high road* to hell.

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referred to them, that the common law of that country, which is the law of Ireland, did not, on any account, allow of it, that all theſe cauſes collectively, are ſufficiently ſeducive, or either of them individually, is a ſufficient inducement to make the clothier of Somerſetſhire, who borders on the Avon, or the merchant of Briſtol quit the Severn, to ſettle on the Boyne, or the Blackwater. Do you think the ſerge-makers and thickſet manufacturers of Exeter, and its charming environs, exceeded only in beauty and magnificence by thoſe of my native city, will be ſeduced by ſuch bounties to croſs the channel? Do you think the ſhipwrights, ſail-makers, &c. &c. of Portſmouth and Plymouth, will leave their elyſian Iſle of Wight, and the groteſque Edgecumbe, to ſettle at Cork's Cove, to enjoy theſe advantages. No, Sir, ſooner will the Ethiopian change his colour, or the leopard his ſpots, than an Engliſhman, by force, barter his preſent evils, for the enjoyment of ſuch extraordinary bleſſings; a ſyren-tongued Miniſter, may deceive his honeſt and unſuſpecting mind, and accompliſh his own vile machinations by fraud and covin; but to open force, he never will ſurrender Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights; that love of liberty which is univerſal, is increaſed by habit in the Engliſhman, and aſſociating that idea ſolely with his own country, (which aſſociation is his crime) he laudably takes it "as his wife, for better or for worſe." The univerſal expatriating cauſes ſhall now be conſidered, and I believe I may ſay, without a poſſibility of contradiction, that they are but two, Perſecution and Poverty; from theſe

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theſe it may be ſaid a third does ſometimes ariſe, one made by equal portions from theſe two general cauſes of emigration. What, Sir, made the anceſtors of the preſent Americans emigrate? Civil and Religious Perſecution. What has made the anceſtor of that family, which is a bleſſing to this country, emigrate from France? that *family*, the effects of whoſe *real* religion I have had an opportunity of ſeeing in works of charity and mercy; whoſe creative hand, not only makes wealth for itſelf, but diffuſes it throughout the country, in every way that can add to its ſtrength and happineſs; by education, the firſt of all national bleſſings, by mercies incalculable, and charities innumerable—Perſecution, and that *too* for religion. If it were given to man, to trace effects to cauſes, we might poſſibly ſee in the ſubverſion of the French monarchy, vengeance taken, for the inſult offered to the ſupreme Majeſty of Heaven, in a French king daring to interfere with the prerogatives of the moſt higheſt. Religion is a duty the creature owes to the Creator, and each is to addreſs the univerſal parent, in the language he beſt knows. What made a certain deſcription of people leave the beautiful and highly-cultivated lands of Armagh, where the raw material, and every thing neceſſary to them as linen manufacturers, was to be had in abundance, and go to the moſt barren and uncultivated part of Connaught?—Perſecution. What, ſome years ago, made whole families go from the North of Ireland to America?—Poverty. What made ſo many perſons *formerly* go from the province of Connaught

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in harveſt time, to England?—Poverty. Why has that number decreaſed ſince 1782?—*Creative* freedom made induſtry, induſtry capital, and capital demanded more labourers. The operating cauſes then, of expatriation, are Perſecution and Poverty, capital never emigrates, it enjoys at home that eaſe and affluence, to obtain which, it was itſelf acquired. We will now ſee how far this theory is ſupported by the facts I am to produce in evidence, and alſo at the ſame time obſerve whether they prove, as it was promiſed they ſhould, general principles. The firſt then to prove, that the capitaliſt will not travel, and that the city of Cork will not become a ſecond Carthage: Milford-Haven, the fineſt harbour belonging to the Crown in Europe, where, five miles from the ſea, I have myſelf been at anchor in a man of war, inferior only in ſituation to Cork, but *ſuperior* to that of Briſtol or Liverpool, and, in capaciouſneſs, equals, if not exceeds them altogether; and in ſafety for ſhips and mariners, and the facility of navigating veſſels in and out, neither of theſe ports will admit of a compariſon with it; the latter one has a moſt dangerous entrance, and objections lie to the navigation of the Severn, which cannot be made to Milford-Haven. Yet this harbour, the fineſt my eyes ever beheld, with every part of it convenient for the making of docks for the largeſt ſhips in the world, with ground contiguous to every part, *unbuilt* on, and rent ſo cheap, as to produce an immenſe profit to the ſpeculating builder, who might erect thereon ſtores, the moſt

 extenſive,

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extenſive, and ware-houſes the moſt commodious, if any *kind* capitaliſt there were, to take them from him; with a peaſantry neat, induſtrious, and moral; with proviſions cheap, with an agreeable climate, with fuel plenty, and not dear, and above all, with the moſt inviting and encouraging landlord, (Sir William Hamilton, Britiſh Ambaſſador at Naples) willing to foſter induſtry, and promote trade by every means in his power; yet this harbour, the Cork of Wales, with all thoſe natural and acquired advantages, has not been able, in upwards of five hundred years *Union* with England, to become a ſecond Carthage: This harbour, to which a ſtage-coach will take the capitaliſts of Briſtol and Liverpool, has not had charms to bring them; and at the expiration of nearly ſix hundred years, you ſee this emporium of Welſh trade, this ſeducer of Engliſh capitaliſts, with its principal ſtreet, equal in breadth, and grandeur, to the magnificent lane in this city, commonly called Fleet lane. In this famous capital, which the Welſh were then told, as the people of Cork are now, ſee your fine haven, and your admirable ſituation for trade, *ſuperior* to any port in this channel; ſo far from finding the riches of Golconda, that the wealth of the whole town, would not equal the very eſtabliſhment of the mere gatherers of gold, in the county of Wicklow. But not only does the rich capitaliſt of Briſtol, refuſe to quit his charming Clifton, with the lovely views of Somerſetſhire, to ſettle in Wales, contiguous, and to which, he can have land carriage the whole way, and readily travel back, to viſit thoſe, whom

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whom blood and friendſhip have made dear to him; but even he, in Liverpool, who can boaſt no Clifton, and whoſe port not having had trade fixed there, as Briſtol has had, for hundreds of years, might on his firſt ſettling in trade, have been conſidered as a man, who would have preferred the conterminous port of Milford, *eaſy* of acceſs, and internally commodious, without the expenditure of a ſhilling, and *externally* better ſituated for commerce, being more open, and nearer to the Atlantic than his own; I ſay, one might have believed all this, by only examining the map; but, when to this, is added the evidence of ſight, when one ſees the immenſe ſums which it was neceſſary for the merchants of Liverpool to expend, in order to make that harbour internally ſerviceable, and how no expenditure can make its external navigation ſafe; I declare I would ſooner believe tranſubſtantiation, than credit the man, who would ſeriouſly tell me, that the political juggler, ſhould by the magical word, Union, the *preſto* of his art, command trade to leap from place to place, as a mountebank does his puppets; no, Sir, trade is a thing which requires four things to ſupport it; ſituation, induſtry, capital and time; two of theſe requiſites, I will call *fundamental and creative*, and which the Iriſh poſſeſs; theſe are *ſituation, and induſtry*, *they* will produce the third, and the fourth, man cannot make: if *they* are not able to create the third, I think I may ſay, that we have an experience of ſix hundred years, that the ſituation of Cork will not ſeduce capital, for ſo long has Milford made a part of the Engliſh Union; and yet,

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yet, her *fine* ſituation, could neither induce the capitaliſt of Briſtol to quit his trade, nor prevent him of Liverpool expending his money on that harbour, and making , and that, *within* the laſt forty years, the grand emporium of the trade of England, in this channel; and to rival, if not excel Briſtol. What has done all this? What has given the preference to this port over Milford-Haven, and that even in oppoſition to the *perſonal* intereſt of the merchant? I will tell you in the language of man, all over the world, "the love of country," that love, ſo laudable, while it only prefers the intereſt of its own, to all others, ſo criminal, when to advance its own, it would ſacrifice that of another. I quarrel with no Engliſhman, for that, which I pride myſelf on, the honour and intereſt of his native land; but I would meet him in arms, when to advance his, he would ſacrifice mine. I have too many dear friends in England, and, when there, experienced too much friendſhip, not to admire the private character of the Engliſhman, and too congenial in diſpoſition, not to agree with him in the love of country; but that love, the ſacred principles of honour, and moral duty, tell me, is not to be encouraged, when it would lead me to invade the rights of my neighbour; he thinks Windſor the fineſt place; I think the Phœnix-Park; he has his Blenheim; I have my Curraghmore; he, his Richmond; I, my Waterfall and Dargle; theſe partialities, may be ſilly, but they are not criminal; each is left in the full enjoyment of that he likes beſt; the right on which that preference is founded, was derived from God, and to *him* only, without force, will I ſurrender it.

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The impoſſibility of Cork being benefited by a Union, I think I have demonſtrated; it is now neceſſary for me to ſhew ſhe cannot be injured, if it ſhould not take place. My reaſon for being of that opinion is this, that it is to her ſituation and the neceſſities of England, and not the kindneſs of that nation, ſhe is indebted for all her advantages; and therefore, ſo long as that ſituation, and thoſe neceſſities continue, they could not, if they would, deprive her of them. The ſecond fact to prove, that a Union will not give us capital is, the linen manufacture of this kingdom, protected and foſtered as it has been, for nearly a century, by duties and bounties in a manner that no other manufacture has ever been, either in this or any other country, and with the trade of the ſiſter kingdom open to us in this branch of commerce, and the whole world, it has not been able to *ſeduce* Engliſh capital. But we may remember capitaliſts do not travel. The third fact I have had from my friend, Mr. Kirwan, whoſe unrivalled abilities as a Chymiſt, Europe acknowledges, in all her learned publications. Speaking to him on this very ſubject of Union, he told me the following anecdote, which, as it is illuſtrative of the poſition I have laid down, that capital never travels, and concluſive to ſhew, that neither trade nor tradeſmen can, or will fly from kingdom to kingdom, at the requeſt, or command of Miniſters or Sovereigns, I will inſert it here. The late Empreſs of Ruſſia being particularly anxious to make St. Peterſburgh the depot of every thing valuable in ſcience, or deſirable in art, inſtructed her Ambaſſador at London, to offer a penſion of 1500l. a year to Mr. Adams the celebrated

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optician,

optician, if he would ſettle in her capital; the Ambaſſador made the offer, and received the following reply: That although he, Mr. Adams, did not make as much as her Majeſty had done him the honour to offer him, yet his *native* country had ſuch charms in his eyes, as *no* money could compenſate him for the loſs of; and that it was equally his duty to imform her Majeſty, that if he were to accept her penſion, it would be a deceit on his part, as he could not render the ſervices expected, unleſs her Majeſty would ſettle there *thirty* branches of trade connected with his; adding, that if he were ſettled at St. Peterſburgh, and any one of the *thirty* trades were wanting, he could not carry on his buſineſs. I will leave it to every man, to make his own reflection on this authentic anecdote.

On this ſubject of trade, I will conclude as I ſet out, with aſſerting, that a Union cannot give us any right to trade, which we do not at preſent poſſeſs, though, almoſt to a certainty, we ſhall be deprived of one, which we now enjoy, that of trading *directly* to the Eaſt-Indies from the port of Cork, and not obliged, as we ſhall then be, like the Scotch and the people of England, to purchaſe India ſtock, to be concerned in that trade. I do admit, that although a Union cannot increaſe our rights, yet it *may* greatly enlarge the exerciſe of one of them, that is, the channel trade, which, as yet, is unfavourable to this country, and which, for her own purpoſes, England refuſes to put on a fair ground. Tranſlate then this politico-commercial jargon, into the language of truth and nature, and it amounts to this:—A rich and powerful nobleman acknowledges there remains an unſettled account, between him and a farmer's daughter, but

before

before he will agree to come to any ſettlement with her, he inſiſts on what is *dearer* than life. No, my Lord, replies virgin poverty, with virtuous indignation ſtarting in her lovely eyes, *Periſh*, juſtice! if honour is to be its price! Death, rather than proſtitution!

Sir, as I here concluded all my arguments, I would on an ordinary occaſion end my letter; but as the ſubject matter of it relates to the rights and liberties of my country, about to be violated, if a Union ſhould be propoſed, I cannot take leave of you Sir, without making this letter the medium of my addreſs to the Deity on their behalf, humbly ſupplicating the aid, and imploring the aſſiſtance of *him* in their defence, at whoſe *awful* bar Kings and Parliaments muſt appear to anſwer for all their acts, not as here, according to the law "of exiſting circumſtances," but by the rules of *moral* juſtice, which no time can change, nor any legiſlature deſtroy; and finding an addreſs to the ſupreme being, on a ſimilar ſubject, the liberties of England, by one of her nobleſt ſons, Lord Ruſſel, I adopt his words, with the alteration of ſubſtituting Ireland for England.

"Hear then, Jehovah! hear thy ſervant's pray'r!
Be Ireland's welfare thy peculiar care!
Defend her laws, her worſhip chaſte, and pure,
And guard *her* rights, while earth and heav'n endure!
O! let not ever fell tyrannic ſway,
His bloodſtain'd ſtandard on her ſhores diſplay!
Nor *fiery zeal* uſurp *thy* holy *name*,
Blinded with blood, and wrapt in rolls of flame!
In *vain* let ſlavery ſhake her threat'ning chain,
And *perſecution wave* her torch in *vain*." Amen.

In

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In the part I have taken on this occaſion, and the ſentiments I have expreſſed, *offence* has been unintentionally given by me, to ſome, whoſe friendſhips I value, whoſe opinions on ordinary ſubject I am bound to obey, and whoſe protection is neceſſary to my future advancement; to them I ſay in the language of the Roman moraliſt.

"Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi propinqui familiares, ſed omnes omnium caritate, patria una complexa eſt."

As this juſtification is offered with reſpect, ſo, it is hoped, it will be received with kindneſs.

I have the honor to be,
SIR, &c.
GEORGE BARNES.

Uſher's-Iſland,
Monday, December 17th, 1798.

P. S. In this letter, written in the greateſt hurry, began on Tueſday 11*th*, and a part of it ſent to the Printer on Friday evening, there muſt certainly be much to be expunged, much to be altered, and ſomething to added; but the Author confidently hopes, that a generous Public will take "the will for the deed;" and believe him when he aſſures them, that nothing but an imperative ſenſe of duty, calling upon every Iriſhman to contribute his mite to the ſtock of general information upon this momentous queſtion, could have induced him to trouble them with his humble ſentiments at the preſent time. Whatever may be their fate, he reſts ſatisfied with the conſoling reflection, of having endeavoured to diſcharge his duty, to his Country, and his King.

THE END.

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IRELAND

PROFITING BY

EXAMPLE;

OR,

THE QUESTION,

WHETHER

SCOTLAND HAS GAINED, OR LOST, BY AN UNION WITH ENGLAND, FAIRLY DISCUSSED.

IN A LETTER, FROM A GENTLEMAN IN EDINBURGH, TO HIS FRIEND IN DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

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LETTER, &c.

Edinburgh, December 1798.

MY DEAR ——,

I THANK you heartily for the Pamphlets you lately ſent me, on the intereſting queſtion which occupies, at preſent, the public attention on your ſide of the water. I have peruſed them with care, and, although you may naturally think, that you and I, as Scotſmen, have no great call to take a keen ſide in that queſtion, I own to you, I have felt an indignant ſpecies of mortification, in obſerving the material argument drawn from the actual experience of the *Union of Scotland with England*, treated with ſuch groſs miſrepreſentation of Facts, as muſt ariſe either from the profoundeſt ignorance of the actual ſtate of this country, or from a determined ſpirit of Falſification. As a Lover of Truth, I ſhould feel myſelf ſtrongly tempted, even on points of a mere ſpeculative nature, to ſtand forward and correct any miſſtatement which I ſaw boldly made in oppoſition to Facts; but on a queſtion of this nature, where the

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intereſts of thouſands are involved, when I perceive that queſtion argued on the one ſide, upon a baſis of Error, or of Ignorance, I hold it to be the indiſpenſable duty of every good man, to correct, if he can, that error, and diſſipate that ignorance.

The experiment already made of the Union of Scotland with England, is juſtly conſidered as deſerving of the greateſt weight, in the diſcuſſion of this ſimilar meaſure with regard to our ſiſter-kingdom. I perceive that many of your anti-union pamphlets, proceed on aſſuming it as a Fact that the proſperity and happineſs of Scotland has declined ſince the Union; and that the Scots, ſince the abandonment of their independent Legiſlature, are not only a degraded, but an oppreſſed, and an impoveriſhed people. One of your anti-union Patriots, tells his countrymen, that, "Scotland is reduced, for "want of ſpecie, to three-penny and ſix-penny bank-"notes; that ſince the Union, Edinburgh is beg-"gared, and depopulated; and that Churchill's "Prophecy of Famine, gives a true picture of the "actual ſtate of the country." Another writer on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, but poſſeſſed of a little more information, admits that in ſome points Scotland has improved ſince the Union; but this improvement, ſays he, we ought not to attribute to that Event, "It may with more propriety be ſaid "that Scotland has improved, notwithſtanding the "Union;"

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" Union ;" * for as to the real conſequences of that meaſure, he aſſures his countrymen that " Scotland has ever found in the Britiſh Legiſla- " ture, not the foſtering hand of a natural parent, " but the neglect of a ſtep-mother." Who ought to know beſt the truth or falſehood of theſe ſtatements; an Iriſhman, or a Scotſman? I have no doubt that every Iriſhman of ordinary knowledge, or information, will treat them with contempt or ridicule; but unfortunately, the great maſs of a people have not that knowledge or information, and will implicitly believe what they are confidently told, while it coincides with their own prejudices.—Let a Scotſman therefore give them a few plain, but ſtriking Truths, in confutation of thoſe Falſehoods with which their minds are poiſoned, and their judgments perverted. Let them attend to the following *Facts*, which will ſhew them the advantages that Scotland has actually derived from her Union with England: and let them obſerve that progreſſive improvement, which ſince that period has taken place in every circumſtance of national welfare and proſperity. The inference will be unavoidable. Ireland, relatively to Great Britain, ſtands very nearly in the ſame predicament, as Scotland to England, before the Union. A great proportion of the inhabitants of Scotland, when

* Addreſs to the People of Ireland, againſt an Union, by a friend to Ireland.—Stockdale, Dublin.

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when the queſtion of an Union was agitated, felt the ſame fears, entertained the ſame jealouſy, and were influenced by the ſame prejudices that prevail with a part of the people of Ireland againſt her Union. The meaſure therefore met with the keeneſt oppoſition. But reaſon prevailed againſt prejudice; the Union was carried into effect. Time has given to that great experiment, the moſt compleat aſcertainment of its efficacy; and happy has it been for *this* country, as every Scotſman will now honeſtly avow: happy has it been for *Great Britain*, as every friend to the general intereſts of the Empire will candidly and gratefully acknowledge.

"*Particular Facts*" (ſays Lord Chief Juſtice Hale) "give a greater demonſtration than a hundred *notional arguments* can either evince or confute." I propoſe very briefly to ſhew, from *facts*, that the conſequences of the Union of Scotland with England have been moſt beneficial to the former country: to prove, in confutation of the aſſertions in ſome of the late Iriſh publications, "that Scotland has been beggared, and impoveriſhed ſince the Union;" that her advancement in every circumſtance of national proſperity, has been progreſſive, rapid, and moſt extenſive; and that England, inſtead of ſhewing towards her (as is aſſerted)

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aſſerted) the neglect of a ſtep-mother, has actually behaved to her like a moſt indulgent parent.

The ſtate of Scotland with reſpect to political wealth, before the Union, is aſcertained with the utmoſt preciſion from the following document:

At a meeting of the Convention, of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, on the 9th of July, 1691, Commiſſioners were appointed to viſit each of the Royal boroughs in the Kingdom; and the magiſtrates and clerks of each borough were ordained to produce to thoſe Commiſſioners, *upon Oath*, a particular account of their Revenue, and their Debt; to exhibit the Treaſurer's accounts for five years back, and to give a particular ſtatement of their Trade, both foreign and domeſtic, the number of ſhips, barks, and boats, their burden and value, with every other particular illuſtrative of their ſituation, at the time of the Enquiry.

The Report of thoſe Commiſſioners was returned to the Convention of the Royal Boroughs, in 1692: and it thence appeared that the Revenues of the whole Royal boroughs in Scotland amounted, in the year 1692, only to the ſum of 14,395*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* ſterling, *per annum.*

From a general account made up in the year 1788, taken from the particular accounts of each of

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of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, and presented to the British House of Commons (in obedience to their order) in the year 1789; it appeared, that the annual revenues of the whole Royal Boroughs of Scotland in 1788, amounted to the sum of £. 44,783 14 6 9/10. Thus, from the year 1692 to 1788, the increase of the income or common good of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, was no less than £. 30,388 9 10 sterl. per annum; in other words, their revenues had been much more than trebled.

By the same Report made to the Convention of Royal Boroughs in 1692, it appeared that

	Vessels.	Tons.
The Number and Tonnage of the Shipping in Scotland amounted to		8,618
At the Union, the Shipping of Scotland (see Chalmers's estimate) amounted to	215	14,485
Ditto in 1760,	999	53,995
Ditto in 1780,	1493	84,415
Ditto in 1792,	2116	154,857

Value of these Vessels in 1792,—£. 298,192 Sterl.

Linen Manufacture of Scotland.

The progress of the Linen Manufacture of Scotland, extremely inconsiderable before the Union,

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Union, became (as I ſhall afterwards more particularly notice) a favourite object of the Legiſlature after that event. Its progreſs from the period of the eſtabliſhment of the Board of Truſtees for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, in 1727, may be aſcertained from the following Table of the quantities of Linens ſtamped, and their value.

Years.	Yards.	Value.
1728,	2,182,978	103,312 9 3
1738,	4,666,011$\frac{5}{8}$	185,026 11 9$\frac{6}{12}$
1748,	7,353,098$\frac{1}{8}$	293,864 12 11$\frac{6}{12}$
1758,	10,624,435$\frac{5}{8}$	424,141 10 7$\frac{3}{12}$
1768,	11,795,437	599,669 4 2
1778,	13,264,410$\frac{1}{4}$	592,023 5 4$\frac{1}{2}$
1788,	25,506,310$\frac{1}{8}$	854,900 16 2$\frac{1}{2}$
1792,	21,065,386	872,543 14 2$\frac{1}{2}$
1796,	23,102,404$\frac{1}{4}$	906,202 8 4

Cotton Manufacture.

From a late computation made of the number of hands employed in the Cotton Manufactories in Scotland, all of which have ariſen in the courſe of the general advancement of the Trade and Manufactures of the Kingdom, it appears, that there are at preſent about one hundred thouſand perſons, of both ſexes, employed in that branch alone.

In

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In the year 1792, the quantity of Cotton printed amounted to three millions, eight hundred and twenty-one thouſand, ſeven hundred and twelve yards.

Revenue of the Poſt-Office in Scotland.

There is no better criterion of the progreſs of commerce and manufactures, and indeed of every ſpecies of national improvement, than the revenue of the Poſt-Office.

The income of the Poſt-Office in Scotland, at the Union, was, in groſs, a ſum ſuppoſed ſcarcely ſufficient for defraying the expenſe of its own eſtabliſhment, viz. £. 1,194 0 0

Ditto in 1730, remained after defraying all expenſes		5,399	0	0
Ditto in 1757,	ditto,	10,623	0	0
Ditto in 1760,	ditto,	11,942	0	0
Ditto in 1776,	ditto,	31,103	0	0
Ditto in 1793, *	ditto, about	40,000	0	0
Ditto in 1798,	ditto,	62,984	9	1

Population

* It is but juſt to remark, that the very great increaſe in the two laſt of theſe periods, is in part to be accounted for from the additional poſtage impoſed by Acts of Parliament; but ſtill a very great proportion of the increaſe has ariſen from the natural progreſs of commerce.

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Population of Scotland ſince the Union.

The Population of Scotland, as appears from the returns of the Miniſters of the ſeveral pariſhes in the ſtatiſtical account of the Kingdom, lately publiſhed, may be eſtimated at this time at — — — 1,570,000

By a former enumeration in 1755, it amounted to — — 1,265,000

Increaſe ſince 1755, — — 304,620

But if this has been the increaſe within the laſt forty years, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that during the forty-eight years between the Union and 1755, there may, at leaſt, have been an increaſe of 200,000: *Inde* 504,620, to which, adding the numbers taken off by emigration and wars, it may be a fair eſtimate to rate the total increaſe of the population of Scotland ſince the Union, at — — 600,000

Hence ariſes the moſt ſatisfying anſwer to that hypothetical argument ſo ſtrongly urged before the Union of Scotland, and now maintained with equal energy by the Anti-Unioniſts of Ireland, that an Union muſt be followed by a diminution of the population of the Kingdom, from the increaſe of the number of abſentees. Scotland has experimentally evinced the contrary of that propoſition. Her population has very greatly increaſed, and as the fact

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is certain, ſo is the reaſon obvious. Whatever tends to increaſe the general proſperity of a country, in the promotion of its trade, manufactures, agriculture, &c. muſt, by natural conſequence, increaſe the number of its inhabitants; for food and population keep pace with each other, and are allowed to be reciprocal meaſures of each other's quantity. Such in like manner muſt, in Ireland, be the conſequence of a meaſure evidently tending to increaſe the political proſperity and the actual wealth of the country. The number of Abſentees from Ireland, is, at this moment, very great. Thouſands have left that unhappy country, from the miſerable ſtate into which it has been plunged by faction, and by foreign intereſt. An Union with Great Britain, putting an immediate and final end to thoſe ſources of calamity, muſt not only bring back her emigrated natives, but giving peace and perſonal ſafety, and perfect ſecurity of property, reviving neglected agriculture, ſtimulating domeſtic manufactures, and, extending immenſely the benefits and the field of foreign trade, muſt, by the moſt certain of all political concluſions, tend moſt rapidly to the increaſe of the population of the country.

But to deſcend from *general* to *particular facts*, demonſtrative, with reſpect to Scotland, of the vaſt increaſe of her political wealth and property ſince the

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the Union, I ſhall contraſt the preſent ſituation of ſome of her capital Towns, with their ſtate in former times, drawing my information from public documents of the moſt certain authenticity.

In the year 1678 the population of Edinburgh, was - - - -	35,500
Ditto in 1722 - - - -	40,420
Ditto in 1775 - - - -	70,430
Ditto in 1791 - - - -	84,886

	Ships.	Tons.
Leith, which is the Port of Edinburgh, had in the year 1692	13	1,320
In the year 1793 the number of Ships belonging to Leith, was	187	20,165

Ships inwards from Foreign Ports, and Coaſters:

Britiſh - - - -	216	30,749
Foreign Do. - - -	19	2,700
Coaſters Do. - - -	1,936	97,514

Leith has ſix glaſs-works of great extent: ſix rope-works; beſides ſoaperies, candle-manufactures, ſtarch-works, paper manufactures, carpet, and linen manufactures. The trade of ſhip-building is there of very great magnitude.

The City of Edinburgh is tripled in point of extent ſince the period of the Union. It is computed,

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puted, that within theſe laſt thirty years, the new buildings, public and private, new ſtreets and ſquares, have coſt above two millions ſterling. The Public Offices, the Courts of Juſtice, the Regiſter-Houſe, the Offices of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, the New Univerſity, the Theatres, Aſſembly-Rooms, Bridges, &c. do not yield in magnificence to thoſe of any capital in Europe. This is the city which ſome of your miſguided patriots tell their countrymen, is, ſince the Union, *beggared and depopulated.*

Glaſgow has, ſince that period, undergone a ſtill more rapid advancement.

In 1692 it appears, from the Report of the Commiſſioners of the Royal Boroughs, that Glaſgow poſſeſſed a foreign trade to the yearly amount of £.17,083 ſterling.

She had 8 Ships in harbour, 730 tons.
7 Do. abroad 452
8 Lighters.

Port-Glaſgow and Greenock were then inſignificant villages, with no foreign trade, or ſhipping whatever.

In the year 1793 the Shipping belonging to Glaſgow, Port-Glaſgow, and Greenock, was as under:

406 Ships 40,075 tons.

Inwards

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Inwards from Foreign Ports, and Coaſters:

Britiſh	575	Ships	59,210 Tons.
Foreign	26	-	4,716
Coaſters	1304	-	50,698

Groſs Receipt of Duties on foreign goods imported at Glaſgow for one year £.222,485 15 8 5/12

Drawbacks paid - £.51,545 0 3

The Shipping of Borrowſtowneſs, moſt part of which belongs to Glaſgow, amounted in 1793 to

151 Ships 10,567 Tons.

Inwards from Foreign Parts, and Coaſters:

Britiſh	183	Ships	25,619 Tons.
Foreign	29	-	2,688
Coaſters	1078	-	50,945

But the foreign trade of Glaſgow, prodigious as its increaſe has been ſince the Union of the kingdoms, is far exceeded by the progreſs of her home manufactures. In the cotton manufacture alone, there are at preſent above 1500 looms conſtantly employed. The produce of each loom is computed at £100 ſterling *per annum*. The annual value of the whole produce of the cotton looms belonging to Glaſgow, is therefore about one million, five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This is but a ſingle

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ſingle article of the manufactures of Glaſgow. The inkle-looms, the coarſe woollen, the carpet manufactures, the ſugar-works, earthen-ware, &c. are highly flouriſhing, and occupy a prodigious number of the induſtrious of all ages, and of either ſex.

In the year 1663, the population of Glaſgow amounted to	12,298
In 1791, it amounted to	61,945

Paiſley, at the Union, was a ſmall country-town which had no manufactures whatever, and did not contain above - 2,300 inhabitants.

In the year 1792, the inhabitants of Paiſley amounted to - 19,903

The Paiſley manufactures of ſilk-gauze, lawn, linen-gauze, and white thread, amounted in 1784 to the value of - £.579,185 16 6 ſterling.

In 1789, the value of its manufactures amounted to - - - £.660,385 16 0 ſterling.

Dundee, in 1692, had

21 Ships and Barks	1086 tons.

Her principal manufacture, at that time, was the making of woollen bonnets.

In

In 1793 Dundee had, belonging to her own port

127 Ships 8,939 Tons.

Ships from foreign ports entered inwards, and Coasters:

Britiſh	73 Ships		8,644 Tons.
Foreign	18	-	1,750
Coaſters,	995	-	47,225

Groſs receipt of Duties on foreign goods imported for one year £.6,430 14 4½

In 1789, the quantity of linen manufactured at Dundee, amounted to 3,181,990 yards, in value £80,587 ſterling; about £32,000 worth of canvas for ſhipping, is yearly manufactured here, and £5,500 ſterling worth of bagging, for cotton wool. The quantity of coloured thread manufactured annually at Dundee, is eſtimated at 269,568lbs. valued at £.33,696 ſterling. The cotton-yarn ſpun there, is valued at £.20,000 ſterling, *per annum*. The value of leather tanned annually, is computed at £14,200l. ſterling.

The population of Dundee, in 1651, amounted to - - - 8,057

Ditto in 1781	-	-	15,700
Ditto in 1792	-	-	24,000

Aberdeen, at the period of the Union, contained about 12,000 inhabitants. Its population is

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is now eſtimated at 25,000. At that period it had no foreign trade or domeſtic manufactures.

In 1793 the ſhips belonging to the port of Aberdeen were 193—13,935 tons.

Ships inwards from foreign ports and coaſters:

Britiſh	97 Ships	-	969 Tons.
Foreign	3	-	270
Coaſters	936	-	51,874

Groſs receipt of duties on foreign goods imported for one year, 12,390*l.* 16*s.* 4½*d.* ſterling.

The ſtocking manufacture of Aberdeen produces annually, at an average, 69,333 dozen of pairs, of which the average value at 1*l.* 10*s.* per dozen, is 103,999*l.* ſterling.

The thread manufacture there is likewiſe very great.

The other large towns of Scotland, Perth, Ayr, Montroſe, Inverneſs, &c. have in the ſame period of time experienced a ſimilar increaſe of population, and proportionate advancement in trade and manufactures.

The cotton manufacture alone of Scotland is eſtimated at the annual value of 2,200,000l. ſterl.

Before

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Before the Union took place between England and Scotland, it was keenly urged by the Scottiſh patriots, that ſuch a meaſure could not fail to be productive of the moſt miſerable conſequences with reſpect to Scotland; a country which they maintained was at that time utterly unable to bear any greater burdens than it actually felt; and conſequently, that thoſe additional taxes which it might be expected would be laid on it, would prove ruinous to the commerce and manufactures as well as to the agriculture of the country. Since the Union, Scotland has in fact been ſubjected to many additional burdens in the way of taxation: But have theſe, it muſt be aſked, verified the prediction abovementioned? Have they proved ruinous to the commerce and manufactures, or prejudicial to the agriculture of the country? Quite the contrary. The truth is, our means and our capacity have increaſed in a much higher ratio than our burdens; as the wonderful advancement in every article of political wealth and proſperity demonſtrably ſhews. The Iriſh anti-union pamphlets repreſent Scotland as borne down and cruſhed under the weight of her taxes. They aſſert with confidence that ſome taxes, as for example, the malt tax, have been impoſed in direct violation of the articles of Union. But theſe aſſertions are the confined reſult of prejudice and of ignorance. Scotland, by the articles of Union, gained no general exemption from thoſe additional burdens,

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which according to future emergence might be laid upon her ſiſter kingdom; on the contrary, it was moſt anxiouſly provided by that ſolemn treaty, that with reſpect to trade, manufactures, &c. both parts of the united kingdom ſhould have the ſame advantages, and be ſubject alike to the ſame reſtrictions and regulations. It may however be affirmed with truth, with reſpect to thoſe impoſitions laid on Scotland ſince the Union, that in every caſe where a new tax was to be impoſed, which was to affect the united kingdom, the proportion was fixed even with a partial indulgence of the Engliſh members themſelves, to a country which they conſidered as ſlowly advancing in its political growth, and needing like a weakly child, a continued exertion of the care and tenderneſs of its parent. The aſſertion that the firſt impoſitions of the Malt-tax in Scotland was an infringement of the articles of Union, is founded entirely in a piece of ſophiſtry urged indeed at the time, but which met with its juſt diſregard. It was ſtipulated by the treaty of Union that the Malt-tax ſhould not be extended to Scotland, during the "continuance of the preſent war." In 1713, when the Bill was brought in for extending that tax to Scotland, it was allowed that the articles of peace had been ſettled between Great Britain, France and Spain, and the ratifications ſolemnly exchanged; but it was captiouſly objected, that

Peace

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Peace had not been formally proclaimed. It may be believed that an objection ſo truly frivolous met with its juſt diſregard.

While the Anti-Unioniſts of Ireland repreſent Scotland ſince the Union, loaded with a vaſt increaſe of taxes; they look at one ſide of the ſcales, but ſhut their eyes upon the other; and totally overlook the adjuſtment of the balance. Let them judge whether the country which can ſhew a progreſs ſuch as the following, in the revenue of her cuſtoms and exciſe, is able or unable to bear the rateable increaſe that has taken place in her taxes.

The groſs revenue from the cuſtoms of Scotland at the Union, (ſee Sir J. Sinclair's Stat. Pub. Rev.) was	30,000		
Ditto from cuſtoms and ſalt duties in 1740	44,818	0	6¼
Ditto from ditto in 1780	119,182	6	5¼
Ditto from ditto in 1788	250,839	11	8
Ditto from ditto in 1798	433,679	18	8½
The groſs revenue from the exciſe in Scotland at the Union, was	33,500		

The whole of which was abſorbed in the defrayment of the civil eſtabliſhments in Scotland.

In

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In the year 1740, after deduction of all expences of the eſtabliſhment, the nett remittance to the Britiſh Exchequer, was	17,000
Ditto in 1760 remitted	21,000
Ditto in 1780 remitted	102,450
Ditto in 1798 remitted	702,470 5

But even this increaſe, great as it may appear, is a very under-rated eſtimate of the actual revenue from Scotland. For ſince the Union a vaſt variety of articles conſumed in that kingdom, pay their duties in England. Such are all foreign goods from the Eaſt Indies, from Africa, from Portugal, Spain, Italy, the Levant, &c. Among theſe the capital articles of tea, groceries, &c. all of which, though conſumed in Scotland, pay the duties in England, and are tranſported into Scotland, duty free. It may be readily ſuppoſed, were all thoſe articles taken into the eſtimate, and to pay the duty in the country where they are conſumed, how very great an addition would thence ariſe to the ſum of the revenue from Scotland.

The agriculture of the country has undergone within the ſame period an equal, if not a higher progreſſive improvement than its trade and manufactures. In the Southern counties of Scotland, and in ſeveral of the Northern, as Angus, Mearns, &c. the ſyſtem of huſbandry is allowed to equal that

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that of the beſt of the agricultural counties of England. The actual produce of the lands of Scotland has ſince the Union been encreaſed ſix fold. The numbers of black cattle and of ſheep, notwithſtanding the converſion of paſture-ground into arable, are very greatly encreaſed. The waſte and mountainous parts of the country which, from the indolent ſpirit of former ages, or the turbulent and precarious life of the highlanders, had been conſidered as doomed to hopeleſs ſterility, are now covered with extenſive plantations which afford at preſent a very liberal revenue, and promiſe in expectancy a great ſupply of national wealth.

Such is the ſtate of that country which ſome of your ignorant political writers have thought proper to repreſent as *beggared* and *depopulated* by our Union with England. There are others indeed of a little more knowledge and information, (though from the ſtrain of their writings, I cannot entertain a high opinion of their political judgment) who admitting a very conſiderable improvement in the national wealth and proſperity of Scotland, ſince the period of the Union, deny its efficacy or operation in producing thoſe effects. Theſe writers have told their countrymen: It is true, Scotland has improved in many particulars ſince the Union; but you ought not thence to infer that the Union was the cauſe of that improvement. "The mild wiſdom of Pelham" (ſays one of

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of theſe authors,*) "laid the foundation of her "preſent improvement. She was encouraged by "Lord Chatham—She has experienced fifty years "tranquillity—It may with more propriety be "ſaid, that Scotland has improved notwith- "ſtanding the Union, than that the Union cauſed "her improvement."

Thus then, although it ſhould be allowed, as it cannot be denied, that Scotland before the Union, was, with reſpect to national proſperity, rather in a retrograde than progreſſive ſtate, and that ſince that period, her improvement has been uniformly progreſſive, and ſtill continues ſuch, we are not intitled, according to ſuch reaſoners, to connect thoſe circumſtances together as *cauſe* and *effect*. On the contrary, they are to be regarded as hoſtile and repugnant to each other. The Union, inſtead of encouraging, muſt have repreſſed improvement; and ſome ſeparate, unknown, latent, but moſt efficacious power has interpoſed, which, *notwithſtanding* the hoſtile agency of the Union, has moſt vigorouſly promoted the national proſperity.

But mark the admirable conſiſtency of this laſt mentioned writer. He had told us, a few pages before, that Scotland had ever found in the Britiſh Legiſlature, "the neglect of a ſtep-mother, inſtead "of

* An addreſs to the People of Ireland, againſt an Union, &c.—by a Friend to Ireland.

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" of the affection of a natural parent." In the laſt quoted paſſage, in accounting for her acknowledged improvements, ſince the Union, he forgets the neglect of the unnatural ſtep-mother, and attributes theſe improvements chiefly to the wiſdom and liberality of the Britiſh Miniſtry, to the mild wiſdom of Pelham, and the generous encouragement of Lord Chatham. He allows as a main efficient cauſe of her preſent proſperity, that Scotland has experienced fifty years tranquillity: but refuſes to ſee in the Union, the cauſe of that permanent tranquillity; he allows no operation to that event which produced the greateſt political change that Scotland had ever undergone; which extinguiſhed all ſeparation of intereſts between the two countries, which entitled the weaker party in the league to every advantage enjoyed by the ſtronger, while, at the ſame time, ſhe retained inviolate whatever ſhe was wont to regard as her excluſive advantages, her ancient Laws, and her Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, which opened to her a wider field for the exertion of talents, and enlarged the objects of ambition; which put an end to every motive of jealouſy, and taught the Scots to ſet a juſt value on thoſe bleſſings which this connection has inſured and perpetuated.

But the falſehood of thoſe aſſerted Facts, and the conſequent fallacy of the argument founded upon them, muſt be yet more particularly expoſed. The actual experience of Scotland, in the

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the conduct of England towards her, ſince the Union, is entitled to the greateſt weight in reaſoning on the expediency, or inexpediency, of a ſimilar meaſure with reſpect to Ireland. If England has in reality treated Scotland with the neglect and harſhneſs of an unnatural ſtep-mother, it would be unwiſe indeed in Ireland, whatever may be the diſadvantages of her preſent ſituation, to place herſelf in thoſe circumſtances, where ſhe hazards a ſimilar treatment. Let the Iriſh judge therefore from the following facts whether the conduct of England to this kingdom has been ſuch as ſome of her (miſnamed) Patriots, have thought proper to repreſent it.

Without entering into any particular conſideration of the Articles of the Union between England and Scotland, it may at this day be candidly owned, that the proportion of the burdens to be paid by the latter towards the general exigencies of the ſtate were fixed on a baſis of the moſt indulgent generoſity to the weaker country. The real rent of the land of Scotland at preſent, is eſtimated at, £2,386,588 ſterling. The valued rent of the Kingdom, according to which, the Land-tax is paid, is only £316,531 ſterling.

By the 15th Article, of the treaty of Union, it was ſtipulated that a certain ſum ſhould be paid to Scotland, as an equivalent for ſuch part of the Cuſtoms and Exciſes laid upon that kingdom as

ſhould

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ſhould be applied towards payment of the national debt of England. It was admitted that this equivalent ſum ſhould admit of a proportional increaſe, according to the increaſe of the ſaid duties; and its application was directed to be made to certain purpoſes of public utility, within the kingdom of Scotland.

Firſt, it was directed that all the public debts ſhould thence be diſcharged.

Secondly, it was appointed, that the ſum of £ 2000 per annum, ſhould for ſeven years be applied to the encouragement of the manufacture of coarſe wool; and after that period, towards encouraging "the fiſheries, and ſuch manu-"factures and improvements in Scotland, as may "moſt conduce to the general good of the United "Kingdom." Commiſſioners at the ſame time were appointed for the management of that ſpecial fund, and their accounts declared to be open to the inſpection of all the ſubjects.

In the year 1727, his Majeſty K. George I. on the repreſentation of certain public ſpirited perſons in Scotland, ſeconded by an application from the Convention of the Royal Boroughs of the kingdom, iſſued Letters Patent, for the appointment of a board of Truſtees, who were empowered to follow out, and carry into execution, a regular plan antecedently digeſted by themſelves, and approved of

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by the Convention of Boroughs, for the application of the ſums above mentioned, in ſuch manner as to render the diſtribution as diffuſive as poſſible, and as generally beneficial. The Revenue under the management of theſe Truſtees, is at preſent about 7000*l.* ſterling, *per annum*. The gentlemen appointed to this important truſt, are perſons of the firſt reſpectability in the Kingdom, who have no other reward than the conſciouſneſs of diſcharging with zeal and fidelity, a duty of the higheſt benefit to the country. Thus the ſums deſtined by Government, for this great purpoſe of utility, go undiminiſhed, and with the moſt impartial diſtribution directly to the fulfilment of their object; and the effects are moſt conſpicuous, in that various and progreſſive improvement of the Trade and Manufactures of the country, of which the foregoing details give evidence.

Beſides the bounties diſtributed by this board for the general encouragement of the Fiſheries of Scotland, the bounties given by Government at various periods of time, for the encouragement of the Whale Fiſhery, while that trade was in its infancy in Scotland, and needed the foſtering care of the ſtate, were very great and moſt beneficial in their conſequences.

The acts of Parliament paſſed ſince the Union, relative to the general Police of the Kingdom, both in the capital and other great Towns, and through the

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the whole of the counties of Scotland, give evidence of the utmoſt attention of the Legiſlature to every thing that regards the intereſts of the country; nor was it ever known that any public meaſure either of a general concern to the Kingdom at large, or to particular parts, or diſtricts, was refuſed the aid and ſanction of a parliamentary enactment, to carry it into effect. Hence the aſtoniſhing improvement of this country in all matters of national police ſince the period of the Union; in public buildings, in the enlargement of the great Towns, in paving, lighting, and ſupplying them with water; in the conſtruction of roads through every part of the kingdom, the erection and improvement of harbours, building of bridges, and cutting of canals.

Nor has the Britiſh Parliament limited its attention ſolely to the granting of the public ſanction of the Legiſlature, to thoſe great purpoſes of national benefit; very large grants of money have been made from time, to time, to defray the expence of thoſe undertakings. The ſum of £30,000 ſterling, was granted by Parliament, out of the revenues of the forfeited eſtates, and other funds, for the erection of the new Regiſter Houſe, at Edinburgh, where the Records of the kingdom are depoſited.

By a ſimilar grant, from the ſums ariſing from the Forfeited Eſtates, the Britiſh Government ſubſcribed

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ſcribed the ſum of £.30,000 ſterling, to the Company of the Proprietors of the Great Canal, for the junction of the rivers Forth and Clyde; thus becoming proprietors to that amount in the ſtock of the Company. But inſtead of drawing a dividend of profits or intereſt on that ſtock, like the other proprietors, it is moſt generouſly enacted, that "the dividends ariſing from that large ſum of ſtock, ſhall be applied towards making and repairing the roads and bridges of the Highlands of Scotland."

The Highland Society of Scotland received from Government a grant of £.4,000 ſterling from the revenues of the forfeited eſtates, to be applied to the patriotic purpoſes of its inſtitution.

From the year 1770, a regular allowance has been granted by Parliament, along with the Public Supplies, of a ſum betwixt £.5,000 and £.9,000 ſterling, *per annum*, for the conſtructing and repairing of Roads, and the building and ſupport of Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland.

In the ſame ſpirit of generous policy, the ſum of £.500 ſterling, *per annum*, was granted by Government for ſeven years, for the improvement of the harbour of Peterhead.

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The augmentation of the ſalaries of the Scottiſh Judges of the Supreme Courts, ſo as to render their income adequate to the rank they ought to ſuſtain in life, and the reſpectability which ought to attend their office; and the appointment of fixed ſalaries to the Judges of certain Courts who formerly derived their emolument ſolely from the dues of office, were liberal and patriotic enactments for the benefit of Scotland.

But that which of all examples of national liberality has moſt redounded to the honour of the Britiſh Government, is its conduct towards Scotland, relatively to thoſe eſtates which were forfeited to the Crown, in conſequence of the two Rebellions in 1715 and 1745.

I ſhall not touch on the clemency ſhewn in the ſuppreſſion of thoſe Rebellions; the paucity of the examples of capital puniſhment; the generous remiſſion of the ſentences of thoſe who eſcaped that puniſhment, which had been awarded by the laws; becauſe, theſe are leſs to be conſidered as meaſures of State, than as particular examples of the clemency of the Sovereign. I confine myſelf therefore, to the meaſures of the Legiſlature, reſpecting the eſtates of thoſe who were attainted for Rebellion.

After

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After the Rebellion in 1715, the eſtates of thoſe perſons who were ſpecially attainted, were declared to be forfeited to his Majeſty, *for the uſe of the Public*, and the monies thence ariſing, were declared to be *at the diſpoſal of Parliament*. Every juſt claim of debt on thoſe eſtates, and all family proviſions granted antecedently, and not in the contemplation of ſuch attainder, were allowed to ſtand good to the creditors and grantees. Nay in the Act, which ſtatuated thoſe forfeitures, the Crown declared its purpoſe of making proviſions on the wives of the forfeiting perſons, to the amount of what they would have had by law, had their huſbands died in their full allegiance, as good ſubjects. Proviſions were made by Government, on the children of the forfeiting perſons, on the eaſy and reaſonable condition, that they ſhould be educated in the eſtabliſhed religion.

Out of the rents of thoſe forfeited eſtates, was given compleat indemnification of their loſſes to all loyal ſubjects, whoſe houſes or goods had been deſtroyed or plundered in the Rebellion.

After the Rebellion, 1745, the eſtates forfeited on that account, were veſted ſolely in the Crown, and annexed thereto, for the ſpecial purpoſes, (as declared in the Act of Annexation) " of civilizing " the inhabitants on the ſaid eſtates, and thoſe of " other parts of the highlands and iſlands of " Scotland;

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" Scotland; the promoting among them the " Proteſtant Religion, good Government, in- " duſtry and manufactures, and the principles " of loyalty, *and no other purpoſes whatever.*" It is declared by the ſame Act to be the intention of Government, " to erect public ſchools on thoſe " eſtates in the highlands and iſlands for the edu- " cation of youth, and for inſtructing them in " agriculture and manufactures; as alſo to erect " and inſtitute manufactories, and apply thereto " ſuch part of the produce of thoſe eſtates as ſhall " ſeem neceſſary and expedient."

During the whole period that theſe eſtates remained annexed to the Crown, thoſe beneficent purpoſes were moſt faithfully carried into execution. But a great, and moſt liberal meaſure, had early been in the contemplation of Government, towards this part of the united kingdoms, and was at length, to the honour of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, carried into full effect, on a motion of Mr. Dundas, in the year 1784, without one diſſenting voice in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons.* This was the reſtoration of the forfeited eſtates to the heirs of the former proprietors: a meaſure of the moſt generous, as well as of the moſt enlightened, policy.

* It was oppoſed only by one Member of the Houſe of Lords, and that chiefly on the ground that, being an Act of Mercy and of Remiſſion, it ought more properly to have originated with the Sovereign, than with the Parliament.

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policy. The Statute 24 Geo. 3. ſect. 2. cap. 57. reſtored, to the perſons therein named, chiefly the heirs of the forfeiting perſons, (in one inſtance to the forfeiting perſon himſelf then alive, to whom his Majeſty extended his free pardon), the whole eſtates which had been annexed to the Crown in conſequence of the ſeveral Bills of Attainder; and declared that the reſtitution ſhould be made *ſimpliciter*, on the repayment to Government of certain fixed ſums, being the amount of the debts affecting the ſaid eſtates, which had been paid by the Crown to the lawful creditors.

Even the ſums thus repaid to the Crown by the heirs now reſtored to the poſſeſſions of their anceſtors, were not appropriated, as they with perfect equity might have been, by the Britiſh Government, or ſunk in the maſs of funds belonging to the Britiſh Exchequer. They were applied by Government for the public benefit of the kingdom of Scotland. Of this application ſeveral remarkable examples have been already mentioned; the gift of £.15,000 ſterling for the building of the Regiſter-Office of Scotland, in addition to a ſimilar gift of £.15,000 for the ſame purpoſe from a different fund; the ſubſcription of £.50,000 ſterling to the Company of the Forth and Clyde Navigation Canal, and the grant of £.4,000 to the Highland Society. Theſe ſums, it was calculated would go near to exhauſt the whole monies to be paid

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paid by the heirs on the reſtitution of the forfeited eſtates; but the Britiſh Government, to fill up the meaſure of its liberality to this kingdom, decreed, by a ſubſequent Act of Parliament, that out of the unappropriated money ariſing from the forfeited eſtates, after ſatisfying the appropriations above mentioned, the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland, ſhould, (as ſoon as the reſidue of that fund in their hands ſhould be ſufficient for that purpoſe), pay the ſum of £.2,500 to the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Chriſtian Knowledge in the Highlands and Iſles.

On a candid conſideration of the whole conduct of Government with reſpect to the forfeited and annexed eſtates, it is left to any impartial mind to ſay, whether it is poſſible to figure a public procedure ſo highly honourable, ſo thoroughly liberal, diſintereſted and humane, or ſo entirely conſonant to patriotiſm and wiſe policy, as have been the whole meaſures of the Britiſh Legiſlature, relative to thoſe tranſactions? Let the Iriſh Patriots ſay, on their conſciences, whether, in this procedure, and in the various other inſtances above detailed, of the conduct of the Britiſh Government to the kingdom of Scotland, they trace the care of a *Natural Parent*, or the neglect of a *Step-mother*? And as they ſhall anſwer this queſtion, let them make the application to themſelves, in deciding on the benefits or diſadvantages of an Union with

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Great Britain, which ſhall place Ireland in the ſame predicament with Scotland, as forming one undivided and conſolidated empire with that State, certainly the moſt enlightened and liberal, perhaps in the trueſt ſenſe the greateſt, of the powers of Europe.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

THE END.

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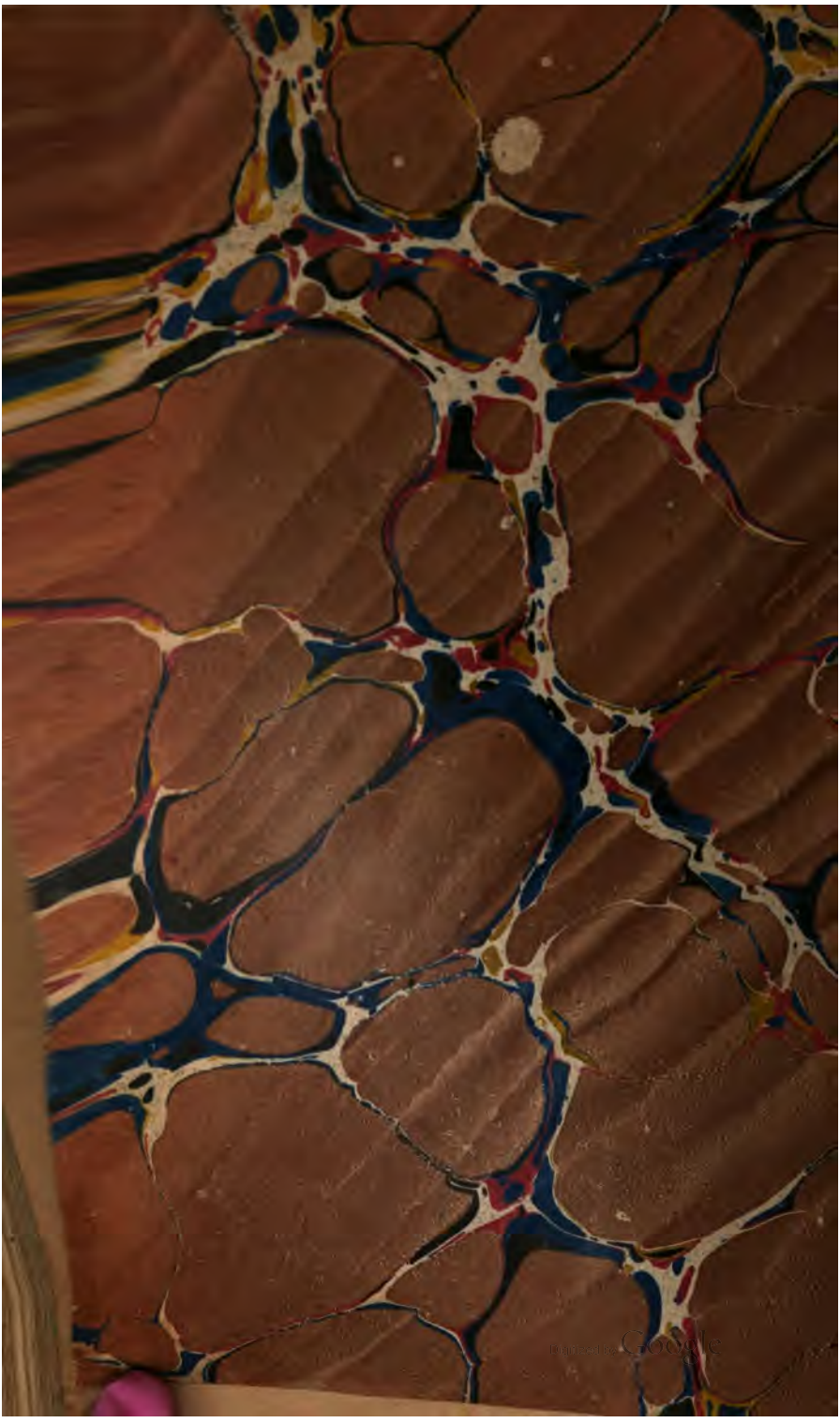
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